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AND

THE LOLLARDS

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FRONTISPIECE. — *Page* 28.

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BY

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WYCLIFFE.

JOHN DE WYCLIFFE, often and aptly called 'The Morning Star of the Reformation,' was born in 1324, in the parish and village of Wycliffe, near the junction of the Greta and the Tees, and a few miles north of Richmond in Yorkshire. His family are supposed to have been lords of the manor and patrons of the rectory of Wycliffe from the era of the Norman Conquest; and the property continued in their possession till 1606, when it passed by marriage into the family of the Tonstals.

Nothing is known of Wycliffe in his boyhood. He would get, we may be sure, the best education within reach — not improbably in the school of the Abbey of Egglestone, which was but a short distance from his home. That school was then in the height of its prosperity, and was just such

an institution as young men intended for the Church were likely to be put to.

When sixteen years of age, Wycliffe entered, as a commoner, Queen's College, Oxford, founded by Philippa, Queen of Edward III., and from whom it took its name. He continued in Queen's only a single year, when he passed to Merton, the College of the University which was then in highest repute. It was founded by Walter de Merton, Chancellor of England in the reign of Henry III.; the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1274 chose one of its Fellows for the office of Warden; and from that time it rapidly rose in celebrity, and gave a tutor to Edward III., and three Primates to England, viz. Bradwardine, Mephan, and Islep.

At Merton, Wycliffe soon and greatly distinguished himself, pursuing his studies with intense ardour, and becoming a Fellow in a few years. When initiated into logic and rhetoric, he turned his attention to other branches of knowledge—to canon, civil, and municipal law, in which he attained high proficiency; to philosophy, in which his contemporary and bitter enemy, Knyghton, was constrained to admit that 'in philosophy and scholastic discipline he is incomparable;' and to biblical and theological science, with which he acquired an acquaintance 'which had not been equalled,' says one, 'for many centuries; and his veneration for

the sacred writings procured him the honourable appellation of the Evangelic Doctor.' Altogether, he was a prodigy of learning, according to the learning of the age.

The first publication ascribed to Wycliffe was a small tract, entitled *The Last Age of the Church*, occasioned by the most frightful and fatal pestilence that ever visited England. It broke out in Tartary in 1345, crept slowly westward along the shores of the Mediterranean, wasted Greece and Italy, crossed the Alps, and desolated almost every corner of Europe. In London alone, 100,000 perished of it. The burials in the Charterhouse-yard, from Candlemas to Easter 1350, were upwards of 200 daily. Little more than a half of the population of the country survived it. It even seized on the brute creation; and the land was filled with putrid carcases, and the air poisoned with the exhalations proceeding from them. *The Last Age of the Church* construed the plague-visit to be the scourge with which an angry God punished England for its sins; specially for its Church corruptions and abuses, prominent among which were the simony of the priests, and the tyrannous encroachments and exactions of the Papal power. From the terrible severity of the scourge, coupled with mystical interpretations of some Scripture prophecies, supported by some dreams of Abbot

Joachim and some sibylline verses, the conclusion of the writer was, that the condition of the world had become irremediable and unendurable, and that its dissolution was at hand. It is right to state, however, that the authorship of the tract, though it was long fathered on Wycliffe, is very doubtful, so that it cannot be justly referred to as evidence of any of his opinions.

It was years after this when Wycliffe openly proclaimed against the Begging Friars—the mendicant orders of the Church of Rome—that war which ended only with his life. More than a century before, those orders had been instituted to check and correct the corruptions of the parochial or secular clergy, and to set them an example of all priestly excellence, specially of devotion to the interests of the Church; and prior to the Reformation, they were, what the Jesuits have been since, the life and soul of the Papacy. For a brief period they promised to serve the laudable end of their institution; but they speedily and wofully degenerated. Good Bishop Grosseteste, who had at first a favourable opinion of them, lived to pronounce them 'the heaviest curse that had ever fallen upon Christianity.' 'In less than an age,' says Wharton, 'the cheat of their imposture became manifest to all men. They . . . infinitely surpassed the wickedness of which they themselves

had (perhaps unjustly) accused the secular clergy, and long before the Reformation became the most infamous part of the Church of Rome.'

The friars affected great humility; but they might have sat for the picture of pride, arrogance, and insolence. They affected primitive simplicity, self-denial, and mortification; but jolly Friar Tuck in *Ivanhoe* was a fair average specimen of them:

'The Friar has walked out, and where'er he is gone,
The land and its fatness is marked for his own;
He can roam where he lists, he can stop when he tires,
For every man's house is the barefooted friar's.

'He's expected at noon, and no wight till he comes
May profane the great chair and the porridge of plums;
For the best of the fare, and the seat by the fire,
Is the undenied right of the barefooted friar.

'He's expected at night, and the pastry's made hot,
They broach the brown ale, and they fill the black pot;
And the goodwife would wish her goodman in the mire,
Ere he lacked a soft pillow, the barefooted friar.

'Long flourish the sandal, the cowl, and the cope,
The dread of the devil and trust of the Pope!
For to gather life's roses, unscathed by the briar,
Is granted alone to the barefooted friar.'

The friars affected great sanctity; but age after age, the chief employ of all the power of satire which Christendom possessed was to hold up their scandalous lives to public execration.

They affected contempt of the unrighteous mammon—their institution had a vow of poverty for its very foundation; but the Papacy owed to them much of the enormous wealth which was every way so baneful to it, and which at last proved an irresistible temptation to the cupidity of its spoilers. Even in Wycliffe's day the wealth of the Popish Church was truly enormous.

It is calculated, that 'in 1337 the gross incomes of the ecclesiastics of England amounted to 730,000 marks,' then equal in value to a sum of our present money so large as almost to exceed belief. This income included the tithes, as well as the rents of all the manors and estates of the parochial clergy and the religious orders. All the great landed properties of the country were then held as military fiefs under the Crown. It appears from a public return that the whole number of such fiefs was 53,000, and of these 28,000 were held by ecclesiastics, bringing out the striking fact that the clergy were in possession at that time of more than half of the landed property of the kingdom. In addition to its fixed revenue, there was constantly flowing into the treasury of the Church the ordinary oblations at the offertory, and those presented at the shrines of the saints. There were, besides, the fees for one or other of those manifold religious services which were connected with almost every

great incident of life; there were the gifts of the dying, and the costly masses for the dead. A box which stood under the great cross of the Cathedral of St. Paul's yielded about £9000 per annum. One year the offerings at the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket amounted to the almost incredible sum of £14,310. To die in those days without leaving anything for pious purposes was regarded as a robbery of the Church, which she punished by taking the administration of the affairs of those who died intestate into her own hands. There were celebrated in the course of a year, within St. Paul's Cathedral, 111 funeral services, or anniversary services for the dead, the payments for which realized upwards of £40,000. In a will made in the reign of Richard III., Lord Hastings bequeathed property to the value of above £10,000 to the conventual establishments, on condition that, as soon as notice of death was given, "a thousand priests shall say a thousand Placebos and Diriges, with a thousand masses for my soul, if reasonably possible;" and on condition, also, that a perpetual yearly service shall be sustained "for the souls of me and my wife, myn ancestors, and all Christian souls," to be performed "solemnly, with note, Placebo, and Dirige, and on the morrow mass of requiem, with note." Dr. Milman is inclined to believe that, taken altogether, the revenue springing from such sources as

those now indicated must have been as large as those derived from the permament endowments.'

It unspeakably aggravated the evil, that this wealth was to a large extent the product of a systematic traffic in the souls of men. For the sake of filthy lucre, the friars made merchandise of souls. They deceived them to their undoing, and they made them pay for the deception practised on them. They sold them indulgences, pardons, masses to deliver them from purgatory, etc. etc.; and they confirmed them in their delusions by lying legends and lying miracles. The latter were the staple of their preaching and work throughout the country. As one specimen of these, when St. Anthony of Padua was preaching in Lisbon, his native city, the lover of a young lady there was murdered by two of her brothers, and buried in a neighbouring garden, which belonged to the aged father of Anthony. The body was found, the old man charged with the murder, and convicted. Sentence of death was passed on him, and he was about to be led out to execution, when, borne through the air from Padua to Lisbon by an angel, Anthony himself appeared, ordered the dead body to be produced, and obliged it to tell the whole tale of the murder! As another specimen, a certain heretic, Bovadilla by name, doubted the Real Presence in the sacrifice of the mass, and nothing

but a miracle would remove his doubts. St. Anthony, in carrying about the host in procession, encountered the mule of Bovadilla. In a moment, at the command of the saint, the mule fell on its knees. Bovadilla stood amazed. First he tried to rouse the animal, and then he tempted it aside by holding out to it a sieve full of oats. But no ; the mule, rebuking its master's want of faith, remained kneeling till the host had passed.

A third like tale, illustrative of the friars' gospel, is yet more wonderful, and we shall give it in Dr. Hanna's well-told version of it: 'In 1306 a woman of Paris pledged her best gown with a Jew. When Easter-day drew near, she naturally enough wished to be as fine as her neighbours. As she had not money enough to redeem the dress, she earnestly entreated the Jew to lend it to her till the Monday, promising to pay double interest for the loan. He would do it only on one condition: that, keeping it unswallowed in her mouth, she brought to him the host, the wafer which she should receive from the priest. She refused at first to do so horrible a thing. But the Jew was inexorable, and her vanity prevailed. She got the gown and brought the wafer. Eagerly seizing it, the Jew exclaimed, "Art thou the God of the Christians? Art thou he whom their mad credulity believes to have been born of the Virgin? If thou art he whom my

fathers crucified, I will make trial of thy divinity;" and so saying, he flung the wafer into a basin of boiling water. Immediately a beautiful boy appeared. The Jew, instead of being converted, seized a fork, and tried to force him beneath the water; but however well his strokes were aimed, they fell always upon the water, and the beautiful child appeared at the other side untouched. The Jew ran round and round the vessel, renewing the attempt. His children heard the noise, ran in to see, and then, frightened at what they saw, ran out into the street to tell the wonder. The people eagerly came in and watched the conflict. The rumour ran through the city. The Bishop of Paris and his clergy hastened to the scene, released the host out of the hands of the Jew, and carried it in procession to the Church of St. John de Grania, where, says the undoubting relater, it is kept even to this day.'

It was not living saints alone who did such wonders; the relics of departed saints were as potent to perform them, and they were part of the travelling gear of the friars. Before their day, those relics were kept in shrines, to which the faithful must resort; but the friars hawked them over the country, bringing them to everybody's door, so that, for a consideration, all might have the benefit of them quite conveniently. 'Above all, the friars

had in hand the primary indulgences of the Pope. As successor of St. Peter in the Primacy, the Pope claimed to be the sole custodier and sole dispenser of that infinite stock of merit, made up of the works of supererogation of all the saints, with the merits of the Redeemer Himself superadded. While an ordinary priest could grant absolution for the particular sin or sins confessed, it was the Pope alone who, out of that vast magazine of merit, could dispense the plenary absolution which covered all transgressions, shielding from the punishment due to them both here and hereafter. The Pope could transfer to whom he pleased the privilege of distributing the indulgences thus granted in his name, and he chose to bestow it on his faithful friends and allies, the friars.'

All this imposture and delusion filled the soul of Wycliffe with detestation and loathing, and with great power he exposed and denounced it—now by argument, and then by invective; now in terms of burning indignation, and then in terms of pungent, blasting sarcasm. In 1360 he published his *Objections to the Friars;* in which, as has been justly remarked, the 'errors and vices of the Mendicants had never been so generally or so forcibly assailed; and while those who preceded aimed only at the removal of particular abuses, he perceived that the institution itself was unnecessary

and pernicious.' He thus made the friars, who were numerous and powerful, his deadly enemies; but the number of his friends also meanwhile increased.

In 1361, when he had been twenty-one years at Oxford, the Society of Balliol College presented Wycliffe to the rectory of Fillingham, in Lincolnshire, a living which he afterwards exchanged for Lutgershall, in Bucks; and the same year he was made Master of Balliol College. After he had held the mastership for four years, Islep, Archbishop of Canterbury, appointed him Warden of Canterbury Hall. On Islep's death, which happened soon, Langham, his successor, who had been Abbot of Westminster, and still retained the spirit of a monk, removed the new Warden, and put Woodhall, who had been a restless and intriguing monk, in the office. Wycliffe appealed to the Pope, who, after years of delay, gave sentence against him; decreeing, at the same time, in direct opposition to the original charter of the foundation, that none but monks had any right to remain perpetually in Canterbury Hall; and for a bribe of two hundred marks, the King basely acquiesced in the decree, and confirmed it.

In 1365 the Pope, Urban v., reasserted the civil supremacy of the See of Rome over England. He did this by renewing his claim to the thousand

marks annually which King John had promised his Holiness on that humbling day when he 'yielded up to . . . our lord Pope Innocent and his successors all our kingdom of England, and all our kingdom of Ireland, to be held as a fief of the Holy See,' together with the arrears which had accumulated for the last thirty-three years, during which those marks had not been paid. The claim was made on the King, Edward III., who was warned that if he refused to comply with it, he would be summoned to appear at the Papal Court, to answer for his disobedience to his civil and spiritual superior. Edward laid the claim before Parliament, which promptly and unanimously decided: 'Inasmuch as neither King John nor any other king could bring his realm and kingdom into such thraldom and subjection but by common assent of Parliament, the which was not given, therefore that which he did was against his oath at his coronation. If, therefore, the Pope should attempt anything against the King, by process or other matters in deed, the King, with all his subjects, should with all their force and power resist the same.'

In support of Urban's claim, a monk forthwith published a tract, in which he called upon Wycliffe by name to answer his arguments. This was significant of the place to which Wycliffe had risen.

It bore that he was acknowledged on all hands as being, above every other man in England, the champion of the Crown *versus* the Mitre. He accepted the challenge, and nobly vindicated the prerogatives of the sovereign, and the independence and freedom of the kingdom, against the aggressions and usurpations of the Papal Court; stoutly and triumphantly maintaining the right and duty of the King and Parliament to refuse the vassal tribute demanded; as also to insist on the subjection of all ecclesiastics to the civil power in all civil matters, and even to alienate, should it seem fit to them, the property of the Church.

For the important service thus rendered, Edward made Wycliffe one of the royal chaplains. About the same time (1372) he was appointed Doctor of Divinity and Professor thereof at Oxford; and commenced those public lectures on theological subjects 'which,' it has been said, 'were received with great applause,' the lecturer 'having such authority in the schools, that whatever he said was received as an oracle.' And he took care to say what he believed to be the truth of God, unfolding it distinctly and fully, and defending it against the denials and perversions and caricatures of it that were so prevalent in his time. Among his works of this period is his *Commentary on the Decalogue*, an enduring monument of his erudition,

soundness in the faith, and holy zeal, and of the effectiveness of his work as a pioneer of the Protestant Reformation. He was but as 'the voice of one crying in the wilderness;' but a few extracts from the Commentary just named will show how seasonable and momentous what he cried was.

He thus comments on the first commandment: 'If a man will keep this commandment, he must believe stedfastly that Almighty God in Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one God, are the noblest object that may have being; all power, all wit, all mercy, all charity, and all goodness being in Him and coming of Him. Also, thou must fear God above all things in this world, and keep His commandments for the sake of no worldly good; also, thou must love God above all things, and thy neighbour as thyself; labouring diligently to understand the law of God, especially His ten commandments, and watching that thy will be so regulated that it may accord with God's will.'

This exposition shows Wycliffe's discernment of the spirituality and exceeding breadth of the divine law; as does another treatise of his on the ten commandments, which appeared in his *Poor Caitiff*, or the *Poor Man's Library*, as it has been called,—a collection of tracts written by him for the purpose of 'teaching simple men and women

the way to heaven.' 'Let each man,' says he, 'look into his own conscience, upon what he most sets his liking and thought, and what he is most busy about to please; and that thing he loveth most, whatsoever it be. And what thing a man loveth most, that thing he maketh his god. Thus each man wilfully living in deadly sin makes himself a false god, by turning away his love from God to the lust of the sin which he useth. And thus, when man or woman forsakes meekness, which Jesus Christ commendeth, and gives himself to highness and pride, he makes the fiend his god; for he is king over all proud folk, as we read in the book of Job. And the idle man hath sloth and slumber for his god. The covetous man and woman make worldly goods their god; for covetousness is the worst of all evils, and serveth to idols as to false gods, as St. Paul saith. Thus every man and woman using deadly sin breaks this first commandment, worshipping false gods.'

The necessity of obedience to the commandments Wycliffe constantly insisted on, in opposition to all the deceits by which Popery persuaded men that they might live in the breach of them, and yet get to heaven. It practically licensed licentiousness, by selling pardons for both the living and the dead; giving assurance that if only money enough was paid down, the Pope, who had the

'keys of Paradise,' would open it to all in whose behoof the money was paid, and shut them in. Against this delusion, red with the blood of myriads of souls, Wycliffe ever and anon lifted up his warning voice in such terms as these: 'Many think that if they give a penny to a pardoner, they shall be forgiven the breaking of all the commandments of God, and therefore they take no heed how they keep them. But I say unto thee for certain, though thou have priests and friars to sing for thee, and though thou each day hear many masses and found chantries and colleges, and go on pilgrimage all thy life, and give all thy goods to pardoners, all this shall not bring thee to heaven.'

Moreover, obedience to the law of God Wycliffe always enforced by motives drawn from the gospel, and the grace of it. Thus, on the fourth commandment, after explaining that the Christian Sabbath is to be regarded as commemorative more of the resurrection of Christ and the gift of the Spirit, than of the work of the old creation, he adds: 'Bethink thee heartily of the wonderful kindness of God, who was so high and so worshipped in heaven, that He should come down so low, and be born of the Maiden, and become our brother, to buy us again by His hard passion from our thraldom to Satan. He was beaten, and buffeted, and

scourged, until His body was as one stream of blood. He was crowned with thorns for despite. He was nailed, hand and foot, with sharp nails and rugged; and so, at last, He suffered a painful death, hanging on the hard tree. And all this He did and suffered of His own kindness, without any sin of Himself, that He might deliver us from sin and pain, and bring us to everlasting bliss. Thou shouldest also think constantly how, when He had made thee of nought, thou hadst forsaken Him and all His kindness through sin, and hadst taken thee to Satan and his service, world without end, had not Christ, God and man, suffered this hard death for thee; it should be full, sweet, and delightful to us to think thus on this great kindness and great love of Jesus Christ.'

In 1350 the two statutes of Provisions and Premunire had been passed, as bulwarks against Papal aggression. The first declared that the Court of Rome should not collate to any benefice or living in England; and that if any person, by virtue of a writ from Rome, disturbed a patron in the presentation of a living, such a person should pay fine and ransom to the King, and be imprisoned till he renounced his pretended right. The second statute forbade, under the severest penalties, the introduction or circulation of bulls or mandates prejudicial to the King or people, and all appeals

to the Papal Court on questions of property from the judgment of the English tribunals.

These statutes, though urgently needed, had produced little good effect. Rome was at no loss for devices to evade them. For example, in the face of the first of the statutes, the Pope 'anticipated,' as he pleasantly called it, presentation to vacant benefices. He sold the privilege of expecting them when they fell vacant! When vacancies occurred, those who had purchased from his Holiness the privilege of expecting the livings got them; or if the rightful patrons battled with the Pope for their rights, their presentees had to 'pay the Pope's provisors.' In either case his coffers were replenished; and to such an extent was this done, that 'Gregory IX. in the course of a few years drained England of no less a sum than 950,000 marks—£15,000,000 sterling—partly in the revenues of benefices conferred on his nominees, and partly by direct taxation of the clergy.'

Such barefaced and insatiable robbery was intolerable; the nation's complaints of it were both deep and loud; and after other vain attempts to abate the grievance, a Commission was sent to the Pope in 1374, to insist on its being redressed. It shows the public confidence and esteem with which Wycliffe was now regarded, that his name stood second on the list of the seven commissioners.

It was at Bruges that the nuncios met with them for conference, but the Papal residence was then at Avignon; and Wycliffe's visit to Bruges, and his intercourse with the dignitaries of the Papal Church, had much the same effect on him that Luther's visit to Rome in 1510 had on the German Reformer. His convictions and spirit as a Reformer were greatly deepened and intensified. And no wonder; for what says Petrarch of Avignon, the seat of the Papacy, during the seventy years of its captivity there? 'You imagine,' he says in a letter to a friend, 'that the city of Avignon is the same now that it was when you resided in it. No; it is very different. It was then, it is true, the worst and vilest place on earth; now it is become a terrestrial hell, an abode of fiends and devils, a receptacle of all that is most wicked and abominable. What I tell you is not from hearsay, but from my own knowledge and experience. In this city there is no piety, no fear of God, no faith or charity—nothing that is holy, just, equitable, or humane. Why should I speak of truth, where not only the houses, palaces, courts, churches, and the thrones of Popes and cardinals, but the very earth and air seem to teem with lies? A future state, heaven, hell, and judgment, are openly turned into ridicule as childish fables. Good men have, of late, been treated with so much scorn and contempt, that

there is not one left among them to be an object of their laughter.'

Wycliffe returned to England in 1376, and the King testified his appreciation of his services by presenting him to the prebend of Aust, in the collegiate church of Westbury, in the diocese of Worcester, and about the same time to the rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire. With rising dignity and influence, his reforming zeal and labours increased. He had a high idea of the dignity of preaching, and great faith in the power of the pulpit — in other words, in the faithful, earnest, instant preaching of the gospel. 'The highest service,' says he, 'that men ever attain to on earth is to preach the word of God. This service falls peculiarly to the priests, and therefore God more straitly demands it of them. Hereby should they produce children to God. Surely it might be well to have a son that were lord of this world; but fairer much it were to have a son in God, who, as a member of Holy Church, shall ascend to heaven! And for this cause Jesus Christ left other works, and occupied Himself mostly in preaching; and thus did His apostles, and for this God loved them. And accordingly, Jesus Christ, when He ascended into heaven, commended it specially to all His apostles to preach the gospel freely to every man. So also, when Christ spoke

last with Peter, He bade him thrice, as he loved Him, to feed His sheep. In this stands the office of the spiritual shepherd. And as the bishop of the temple hindered Christ, so is He hindered by the hindering of this deed. Therefore Christ told them that, at the day of doom, Sodom and Gomorrah should fare better than they. And thus, if our bishops preach not in their own persons, and hinder true priests from preaching, they are in the sin of the bishops who killed the Lord Jesus Christ.'

Agreeably with these views, Wycliffe was himself a great preacher. No fewer than three hundred of his sermons, probably collected and published by his curate, have been handed down to us; and they give us a pretty fair idea of how he preached the word unto the people. We gather from them, too, what the doctrines were which he found in the Bible, and declared to men as the gospel, by the knowledge and faith of which they are saved; and they are substantially the doctrines which evangelical Christendom holds at this day. He preached, for example, salvation by grace, not of works. For human merit there was no place in his theology. 'We should know,' says he, 'that faith is the gift of God, and that it may not be given to men except it be graciously. Thus, indeed, all the good which men have is of God; and accordingly, when God

commendeth a good work of man, He commendeth His own gift. This, then, is also of grace, even as all things are of grace that men have, according to the will of God. God's goodness is the first cause why He confers any good on man; and so it may not be that God doeth good to man, but if He do it freely, by His own grace; and with this understood, we shall grant that men deserve of God.'

While Wycliffe himself laboured most assiduously, in season and out of season, he also organized a staff of fellow-labourers, to assist him in reaping the wide, wide fields that were so white to harvest. He sent forth his evangelists—his 'poor priests,' as they were called—a large body of humble, plain, devoted men, who had learned from him the way of life, and were willing and eager to teach it to their fellow-men. 'If begging friars,' said he, 'still rule the country, preaching the legends of saints and the history of the Trojan war, we must do for God's glory what they do to fill their wallets, and form a vast itinerant evangelization, to convert souls to Jesus Christ.' His 'poor priests' went forth to their work barefoot, dressed in russet, unencumbered by money or provisions, but trusting for the means of subsistence from those to whom they should minister. Crowds listened to their homely, heart-stirring discourses, and welcomed them into their houses. Their mission was signally

successful, as for the immediate good of souls, so for shaking the whole fabric of Popery in the land. The Popish clergy took the alarm, and passed a 'private statute,' requiring the King's officers to imprison both the preachers and their hearers. Wycliffe himself was, above all others, obnoxious to them. In a Convocation of clergy which met early in 1377, Courtenay, Bishop of London, moved that he should be summoned before them, to be examined as to his teaching, on the 19th February, in our Lady's Chapel in St. Paul's. He did appear, attended by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and by Henry Percy, Earl-Marshal of England—two noble patrons who now openly took his side. As they were with difficulty working their way forward in the chapel through the press, 'Let not the sight of these prelates make you shrink a hair's-breadth from the confession of your faith,' whispered the Duke; 'we are here to defend you.' Impatient of the slow progress they were making through the crowd, Lord Percy forced on, desiring Wycliffe to follow. Noticing this, Courtenay, who presided, called aloud to Percy, that 'if he had known what mastery he would have kept in the church, he would have prevented his entering it.' John of Gaunt replied for Percy, 'He shall keep such masteries though you say nay.' When they had reached the prelates, behind the high altar,

'Wycliffe,' said the Earl-Marshal, 'be seated; you have many things to answer, and you will need the rest.' 'Not so,' exclaimed Courtenay; 'criminals stand in the presence of their judges.' 'Lord Percy's motion is but reasonable,' rejoined the Duke; 'and as for you, my Lord Bishop, who are grown so proud and arrogant, I will bring down the pride not of you alone, but of all the prelacy of England.' The altercation continued, and waxed ruder and hotter, till the Duke was heard to say that, rather than take such words from him, he would pluck the Bishop by the hair of the head out of the church; at which the crowd in the chapel took fire, and assaulted the Duke and Percy, who narrowly escaped with their lives, and the meeting broke up in confusion. Next day the mob broke into the Savoy, the Duke's palace, and reversed his arms as those of a traitor. They then proceeded to Percy's house, which, but for the interposition of Courtenay, they would have given to the flames; and laying their hands on an unlucky priest, whom they took to be Percy in disguise, they hanged him.

The clergy were not to be thus baffled; they applied to the Pope, who, in May of the same year, issued four bulls against Wycliffe, condemning certain propositions ascribed to him. Before these documents arrived in England, Edward III. had

died, and Richard II. had succeeded him. Courtenay, now Archbishop of Canterbury, however, prosecuted the case, and had Wycliffe cited to appear in St. Paul's on the 18th December, and to answer the charges against him, contained in no fewer than nineteen heretical propositions extracted from his works. The Synod for trying him met at Lambeth; but a new patron appeared in his behalf. Joan, Richard's mother, who favoured the Reformer's opinions, interposed, and forbade further action, sending her orders by Sir Louis Clifford; and his prosecutors 'bent their heads like a reed to the wind, became soft as oil in their speech; so were they stricken with fear, you would think them as a man who hears not, or one in whose mouth are no reproofs.' The fickle multitude also at this time took part with him, and broke in on the clerical conclave, and dispersed it.

It indicated the high authority conceded to Wycliffe, and the great deference paid him, that on the death of Edward the Parliament of England submitted to his decision the following question: 'Whether the kingdom of England, on an imminent necessity for its own defence, might not lawfully detain the treasure of the kingdom, that it be not carried out of the land, although the Lord Pope required it on pain of censure, and by virtue of the obedience due to him?' Wycliffe's answer was

in the affirmative, for which he gave ample reasons, protesting before King and Parliament against, and dilating on, the Lord Pope's insatiable avarice and shameless rapacity.

The 'Great Papal Schism,' following on the death of Gregory XI. in 1378, was upon the whole favourable to Wycliffe. Attention was diverted from him when Christendom got embroiled in the support of two rival popes; and the Schism brought a good opportunity, which he did not fail to improve, of exposing the impiety and absurdity of the claims of all pretended successors of Peter, and for likewise invoking the sovereigns of Christendom to overthrow the whole fabric of Romish usurpation and tyranny. 'Trust me,' said he, 'in the help of Christ, for He hath begun already to help us graciously, in that He hath cloven the head of Antichrist, and made the two parts fight against each other; for it cannot be doubtful that the sin of the Popes, which hath so long continued, hath brought in the division. The time,' continued he, 'has come for emperors and kings to help in this cause to maintain God's law;' and he added, 'Of all heresies, none could be greater than the belief that a man may be absolved from sin if he give money, or because a priest layeth his hand on his head and saith, I absolve thee. Thou must be sorrowful in thy heart, or God absolveth thee not.'

Next year he was seized at Oxford with an illness which threatened his life. The friars, hearing of it, visited him in solemn procession, reminded him of the many and great injuries which he had done them, and conjured him, as they wished him to die a penitent, to express his sorrow for all that he had said and written against them, and to retract it. Having heard them silently, he beckoned to his servant to raise him up on his pillows, and summoning up all his strength, he said with a firm and loud voice, and in words which proved prophetic, 'I shall not die, but live, and again declare the evil deeds of the friars.'

The chief labour of his declining years was the translation of the Bible from the Latin Vulgate (Wycliffe was unacquainted with Hebrew and Greek) into English, — the first translation into English of the whole sacred volume that was ever made. To this great undertaking he was moved by his pious love of the Book of God, and by all those principles most sacred in his view as a Reformer,—such as the supreme authority of Holy Scripture, and its sufficiency in matters of faith and worship; and the right and duty of every one to judge for himself what God, speaking in His word, has said on these matters. The fidelity and general excellence of his translation are acknowledged by all competent judges. Its literary merits

are of a high order. Next to Mandeville's *Travels*, it was the first prose work in English of any importance, and did much to enrich and fix our language. And the mighty influence for good to the souls of men which Wycliffe's Bible exerted may be learned from an enemy, the Roman Catholic historian Lingard, who has thus written of it:—

'There was another weapon which the rector of Lutterworth wielded with equal address and still greater efficacy; in proof of his doctrines he appealed to the Scriptures, and thus made his disciples judges between him and the bishops. Several versions of the sacred writings [it ought to have been, of part of them] were then extant; but they were confined to libraries, or only in the hands of persons who aspired to superior sanctity.

'Wycliffe made a new translation, multiplied the copies with the aid of transcribers, and by his "poor priests" recommended it to the perusal of their hearers. In their hands it became an engine of wonderful power. Men were flattered by the appeal to their private judgment; the new doctrines universally acquired partisans and protectors in the higher classes, who alone were acquainted with the use of letters; a spirit of inquiry was generated, and the seeds were sown of that religious revolution, which in a little more than a century astonished and convulsed the nations of Europe.'

The clergy furnished further proof of the beneficent influence of the book. They cried out, 'It is heresy to speak of Holy Scripture in English. Learn to believe in the Church rather than in the gospel.' Knyghton wrote: 'Christ committed the gospel to the clergy and doctors of the Church, that they might minister it to the laity and weaker persons according to the exigency of the times and the wants of men. But this Master John Wycliffe translated it out of Latin into English, and by that means laid it more open to the laity, and to women who could read, than it used to be to the most learned of the clergy, and those of them who had the best understanding. And so the gospel pearl is cast abroad, and trodden under foot of swine; and that which used to be precious to both clergy and laity is made, as it were, the common jest of both; and the jewel of the Church is turned into the sport of the people; and that which was before the chief talent of the clergy and doctors of the Church, is made for ever common to the laity.' A Convocation of the clergy decreed the greater excommunication to the readers of Wycliffe's Bible; and the State made the possession of it a civil crime, punishable with death. For this mortal dread and hatred of the book, and determination to suppress it, Knyghton accounts by what he says of the wide diffusion of Wycliffe's principles, to

which his Bible and his evangelists contributed so much. 'The number of those who believed in his doctrine very much increased; and, like suckers growing out of the root of a tree, were multiplied, and everywhere filled the compass of the kingdom, insomuch that a man could not meet two persons on the road but one of them was a disciple of Wycliffe.' The clergy's objections to his Bible Wycliffe had anticipated and obviated before it was published. In his treatise *On the Truth and Meaning of Scripture* he had said: 'They who call it heresy to speak of the Holy Scripture in English must be prepared to condemn the Holy Ghost, who gave it in tongues to the apostles of Christ.' And to those who drivelled about the opening of the Bible to all interfering with the office of pastors and teachers, he answered: 'Those heretics are not to be heard who fancy that secular men ought not to know the law of God, but that it is sufficient for them to know what the priests and prelates tell them by word of mouth; for the Scripture is the faith of the Church:' and that those who hindered men from searching the Scripture for themselves, did so 'to keep the people in a damnable and unbelieving state.'

In spite of all the opposition offered it, the demand for Wycliffe's Bible far exceeded all his expectations. The art of printing had not yet

been invented, so that copies of it had to be made by the pen. This was very tedious and laborious work, and the volume was necessarily very costly. We have on record notices of copies of his New Testament alone being bought at a price varying from about £30 to about £45 of our money each. Yet copies of the precious book were fast multiplied, readily purchased, and eagerly read; and the more that the word of God, in this translation of it, grew and multiplied, the more did the doctrines of Wycliffe prevail. 'So great was the activity of the copyists, so numerous the manuscripts, that notwithstanding the exterminating zeal of the Papal inquisitors, one hundred and fifty copies remain to this day. Some are in the British Museum; some in cathedrals, college libraries, and other public buildings. Three editions of Wycliffe's New Testament have been printed in England,—one in 1731, another in 1810, and the last in 1841, Bagster's *Hexapla*. His translation of the Old Testament long remained in manuscript; but, to the great joy of the good and the learned, Oxford published it in 1851.'

In 1381 Wycliffe openly attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation, which added new fuel to the ire of his enemies. Having examined his teaching on this head, they forbade it, ordered his imprisonment, and pronounced on him the sentence of the

greater excommunication. Many who had favoured his cause were now intimidated, and shrank from further supporting him. Even the Duke of Lancaster now deserted him. Either he had hitherto befriended him less from religious convictions than from political motives, which, circumstances being altered, began to operate differently; or his superstition was offended by his client's impugning such a sacred mystery as the sacrifice of the mass. None of these things moved Wycliffe. He soon appeared in a work which he named *The Wicket*, vindicating his teaching on the Eucharist, and still further exposing the absurdity and idolatry of the doctrine of Rome on the subject. 'Since the year of our Lord 1000,' said he, 'all the doctors have been in error about the sacrament of the altar, except, perhaps, it may be Berengarius. How canst thou, O priest, who art but a man, make thy Maker? What! the thing that groweth in the fields, the ear which thou pluckest to-day, shall be God to-morrow! As you cannot make the works which He made, how shall you make Him who made the works?'

The cause, as it at present stood between him and his ecclesiastical judges, Wycliffe in vain appealed to the King. Courtenay, now Primate, convened a Synod, on the 17th of May 1382, at the Dominican Convent of the Preaching Friars in London, and summoned Wycliffe before it. He

refused to obey the summons, holding that he was amenable only to the University. The Synod had no sooner met than a violent earthquake shook the convent to its foundations. Many of the members called for an adjournment, interpreting the earthquake as God's testimony against their meeting, and the purpose of it; but Courtenay adroitly quieted, if he did not altogether satisfy, them, by a very different interpretation of the phenomenon. 'Know you not,' said he, 'that the noxious vapours which catch fire in the bosom of the earth, and give rise to this phenomenon which alarms you, lose all their force when they break forth? Well, in like manner, by rejecting the wicked from our community, we shall put an end to the convulsions of the Church.' The result was, that of twenty-four propositions imputed to Wycliffe ten were pronounced 'heretical,' and fourteen 'erroneous.'

The bishops in Parliament seconded the Primate, and petitioned the King to take order for the suppression of Lollardism; and the King issued a royal ordinance against it, which is notable as the first penal enactment against heresy that polluted the statute-book of England. It denounced Wycliffe and his coadjutors as 'evil-minded persons, under the cloak of holiness, preaching in churches, churchyards, markets, fairs, and other open places, without licence;' and authorized sheriffs to appre-

hend them, and detain them in prison till they 'should justify themselves according to law and reason of Holy Church.'

Wycliffe denounced the persecuting ordinance, and in November 1382 made his complaint to King and Parliament, in which he defended his doctrine on the Eucharist, and gave an outline of his whole belief, saying, 'Since Jesus Christ shed His blood to free His Church, I demand its freedom; I demand that every one may have liberty to leave those gloomy walls (the convents), within which a tyrannical law prevails, and embrace a simple and peaceful life under the open vault of heaven. I demand that the poor inhabitants of our towns and villages be not constrained to provide a worldly priest, often a vicious man and a heretic, with the means of satisfying his ostentation, his gluttony, and his licentiousness, of buying a showy horse, costly saddles, bridles with tinkling bells, rich garments and soft furs, while they see their wives, children, and neighbours dying of hunger.'

His hope was that he might have sympathizers in the Commons; and he was right. So many of them had he, that they petitioned the King to repeal his tyrannical ordinance, which he consented to do. This chafed the Primate, and his next move against Wycliffe was to summon

him to a Convocation at Oxford. He appeared before the conclave, and resolutely and fearlessly maintained and defended his opinions. Having done so, he looked with heroic firmness and boldness into the face of the Primate, saying, 'The truth shall prevail,' and withdrew. His judges, perplexed and cowed, contented themselves with obtaining an order from the King banishing him from the University of Oxford; and he retired to Lutterworth, where he by and by finished his testimony.

In 1382, the Pope, Urban VI., summoned Wycliffe to Rome, to answer for his heresies, and for all the other mischief which he had done to Holy Mother Church. Having been lately smitten with paralysis, he refused to undertake so long and fatiguing a journey; but he wrote a letter to the Pope, giving an account of his faith, declaring his willingness to retract any part of it that should be proved contrary to Scripture, but protesting that till this was done he must adhere to it. Meantime he continued his ordinary parochial work in Lutterworth, and added several works to those which he had previously published.

On the 29th December 1384, as he was conducting divine worship in the church of Lutterworth, he was smitten a second time with paralysis. The stroke was so severe as to deprive him of

the power both of speech and of motion. He lingered for two days, and then fell asleep on the 31st December, in the sixty-first year of his age. 'Admirable,' says Fuller, 'that a hare so often hunted with so many packs of dogs should die at last quietly sitting in his form.'

He was buried in the chancel of Lutterworth church; and there he rested for forty years, till the Council of Constance, which betrayed Huss, and burned him and Jerome, crowned its infamy by ordering that Wycliffe's body should be disinterred and burned, and his ashes cast into the Swift, the little stream running by the foot of the hill on which Lutterworth was built. The Bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese Lutterworth lay, executed the order. 'Thus,' says Fuller, 'this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over.' 'And thus,' says Fox in like manner, 'was he resolved into three elements—earth, fire, and water, they thinking thereby utterly to extinguish and abolish both the name and the doctrine of Wycliffe.' But 'though they digged up his body, and drowned his ashes, yet the word of God and truth of His doctrine, with the truth and success thereof, they could not

burn; which yet to this day for the most part of his articles do remain.'

In personal character and worth Wycliffe holds a high place among the excellent of the earth. In the kingdom of God there are few indeed greater than he.

In an age when Popery was at its height, he was intensely anti-Papal. He pronounced the Pope to be Antichrist, with an emphasis which the most zealous member of a Protestant Institute in our day has not surpassed. All the leading principles of Protestantism he anticipated. The only principle of Popery to which he has been supposed to cling was purgatory; but it is doubtful whether by purgatory he latterly meant more than the intermediate state which many sound Protestants have held. To which of the present divisions of the Protestant Church he would have attached himself, had he lived in our time, we do not know; but certainly he was not prelatic. His judgment was, that the three orders which are the keystone of prelacy have no countenance in Scripture. 'One thing,' he wrote, 'I confidently assert, that in the primitive Church, in the time of Paul, two orders were held sufficient, those of priest or presbyter, and deacon. No less certain am I that in the time of Paul presbyter and bishop were the same. There were not then the distinctions of pope and cardinal,

patriarchs and archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, with other offices without number or rule. As to all the disputes which have arisen about these functionaries I shall say nothing; it is enough for me that, according to the Scriptures, the presbyters and deacons retain that office and standing which Christ appointed, because I am convinced that Cæsarean pride has introduced these orders.'

Wycliffe's theology was evangelical, well entitling him to the appellation given him, the Evangelic Doctor. The system of doctrine which he found in the Bible is substantially the system which Augustine and Calvin found in it.

He was the friend and advocate of religious toleration, being in this respect much in advance of the Reformers of the sixteenth century, and of too many of the Reformed of the nineteenth. 'Christ,' he taught, 'wished His law to be observed willingly, freely, that in such obedience men might find happiness. Hence He appointed no civil punishment to be inflicted on the transgressors of His commandments, but left the persons neglecting them to the sufferings which shall come after the day of doom.'

It is even more surprising that Wycliffe was a Voluntary,—opposed to all State endowments of religion, as unauthorized by Scripture, and most injurious in their tendency and effects; pleading

for their abolition; and proposing, as an easy and equitable way of abolishing them, that the State should resume them on the death of the incumbents. 'As nature,' said he, 'abhors sudden changes, and as this great transgression (endowing the Church) made progress by little and little; so, if it were made to decrease by successive steps, as the deaths of the occupants succeed each other, with a small amount of prudence the result would be anything but hurtful either to King or people.'

His writings, a tithe of which we have not named, speak for his intellectual calibre, his learning, and his dialectic power. For his alleged intemperance in controversy, and for the severity with which he lashed priests and friars for their vices, we offer no apology. With softer words and feebler blows he could not have done his work; just as Luther and Calvin and Knox could not, with softer words and feebler blows, have done their work. Reformers must not heed squeamish, dainty critics. If they would have and use the spirit and power necessary to their vocation, they must not be smooth-tongued with the priests of Baal.

THE ENGLISH LOLLARDS.

THE LOLLARDS were the followers of Wycliffe. The name given them is understood to have been one of reproach. Various explanations of it have been offered, but perhaps the likeliest of them is that which derives it from *lolium*, tares, cockle, darnel; the designation being intended to bear that the Wycliffites were the tares of Christendom, as compared with the Papists, who were the wheat, and that they were fit only to be bound in bundles and burned.

We propose to give some account of the Lollards of Britain. Our notices of them will necessarily be extremely brief, but we trust that they may nevertheless be interesting and useful. We shall take first the Lollards of England.

Wycliffe died in 1384, but it was soon apparent

that he had left behind him in England many disciples. Inspired with a measure of their master's zeal, they laboured to diffuse their principles; and they did so with such success, that d'Aubigné says, 'England was almost won over to the Reformer's doctrines.' Only eleven years after his death, his followers petitioned Parliament to 'abolish celibacy, transubstantiation, prayers for the dead, offerings to images, auricular confession, the arts unnecessary to life, the practice of blessing oil, salt, wax, incense, stones, mitres, and pilgrims' staffs.' 'All these,' the petitioners added, 'pertained to necromancy, and not to theology.' The clergy were alarmed, and applied to the King (Richard II.) to protect the Church against those deadly assailants. Richard forbade Parliament to entertain the petition; and summoning into his presence a number of the Lollard leaders, threatened them with death if they did not abjure their tenets. Soon after this he was hurled from his throne and cast into a prison, where he ended his days. His successor, Henry IV., was his cousin, the son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Wycliffe's patron. Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, set the crown on his head, whispering into his ear, 'To consolidate your throne, conciliate the clergy, and sacrifice the Lollards.' This advice Henry followed, pursuing a course the opposite of

his father's. He it was who passed the statute for the burning of heretics, and who began in England that Apollyon-work which makes the history of the Lollards in it a martyrology.

William Sawtrey had the honour of being the first to suffer under this infamous statute. He had been a priest in the diocese of Norwich, where, being charged with heresy, he escaped conviction by explanations, which the Bishop called abjuring his errors. He was parish priest of St. Osyth's, London, when, in February 1401, he was brought before the Convocation held in the Chapter-house at St. Paul's. The chief articles of his indictment were his having said, 'That he would not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ who suffered on the cross; that every priest and deacon is more bound to preach the word of God than to say particular services at the canonical hours; and that after the pronouncing of the sacramental words of the body of Christ, the bread remaineth of the same nature that it was before, neither doth it cease to be bread.' Finding that he adhered to these sentiments, Arundel pronounced him a relapsed and incorrigible heretic, degraded him, and delivered him to the High Constable and Marshal of England, with the usual hypocritical request to 'receive him *favourably*.' That very day a writ was issued, directed to the Mayor and

Sheriffs of London, purporting to be the decree of the King 'against a new sprung up heretic,' commanding them to 'cause the said William Sawtrey, in some public or open place within the liberties of the city (the cause being published unto the people), to be put into the fire, and there in the same fire really to be burned, to the great horror of his offence, and the manifest example of other Christians.' He was burnt accordingly in Smithfield, on the 26th February 1401.

In 1407 the magistrates of Shrewsbury apprehended one William Thorpe, a learned and pious man, for preaching Lollardism, and sent him to Arundel. After examining him, declaring 'with many terrible oaths' that he would not leave one of his hated sect in the land, and threatening to have himself 'burned in Smithfield,' the Archbishop threw him into a loathsome dungeon. We read no more of him, as it is all but certain that we should have done had he either recanted or suffered at the stake. The presumption therefore is, that he either died in his dungeon of sickness, or was secretly put to death by his persecutors.

On 1st March 1409, John Badley, a tailor by trade, was brought before Archbishop Arundel, the Bishop of London, and other lords and bishops, to answer for his Lollardism. His examination turned mainly on the subject of transubstantiation.

He was accused of having maintained that, 'after the sacramental word spoken by the priests, to make the body of Christ, the material bread doth remain upon the altar as in the beginning, neither is it turned into the very body of Christ.' And further, that 'it was impossible that any priest should make the body of Christ, and that he never could believe it, unless he saw manifestly the body of Christ in the hands of the priest; and that when Christ sat at supper with His disciples, He had not His body in His hand, to distribute to His disciples, but spake figuratively, as He had done at other times.' Arundel reasoned with him on his heresy, and besought him to believe what the Church believed; offering, if he did so, and lived according to his faith, 'to pledge his soul for him at the judgment-day!' Badley persisted in maintaining that the wafer was not God, but 'a sign or sacrament of the living God;' adding, 'That he would believe the omnipotent God in Trinity, which they had accused him of denying; and said, moreover, that if every host, being consecrated at the altar, were the Lord's body, then there would be 20,000 Gods in England.'

The humble artisan was more than a match for the Archbishop in logic and common sense, but that did not avert his fate. He lay in prison till the 15th of the month, when he was again brought

before his clerical judges, who found him an obstinate heretic, and delivered him to the secular power. On the afternoon of that day he was removed to Smithfield, put into a large empty barrel, bound with iron chains to a stake, and heaps of dry wood were piled around him. The Prince of Wales (afterwards Henry V.) was present to witness the execution, and he besought Badley to recant and save his life. He answered that he could not, being fully persuaded that his opinions were true. The Prior of St. Bartholomew's, holding up the host before him, asked him what it was. He replied, 'Hallowed bread I very well know it to be, but not God's body.' Fire was now applied to the pile, and as the flames ascended, the martyr was heard crying, 'Mercy!' The Prince again interposed, desired the flames to be quenched, and renewed his entreaties to the sufferer to recant; enforcing them this time with appalling threatenings on the one hand, and with the promise on the other of an ample yearly stipend for life from the King's treasury. The martyr was immovable; the fire was rekindled, and he died calling on the Lord Jesus to receive his spirit.

The next victim was a person distinguished by his social as well as by his Christian rank. He was Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham. In 1410 Arundel held a meeting of the clergy at Oxford,

'the whole province of Canterbury being tainted with novel and damnable Lollardism, to the intolerable and notorious scandal of the University.' Many of Wycliffe's opinions were condemned as 'damnable heresy;' the members of the University were forbidden to teach, preach, or maintain any of them; and the books containing them were ordered to be burnt. In 1413 a Convocation was held at St. Paul's, which pronounced Wycliffe's writings, condemned at Oxford, fit only for the fire; declared that the plague of Wycliffism could not be stayed unless certain great men who patronized it were removed; and expressly named Sir John Oldcastle, who, in right of his wife, was Lord Cobham.

His lordship was the leader of the Lollards. He had an intelligent and strong conviction of the truth and vital importance of their principles, and was zealous in propagating them. He had advocated them in Parliament, and had been at not a little expense in maintaining the preachers of them, and in copying and circulating Wycliffe's writings. For these reasons he was very obnoxious to the clergy; and there was another thing that raised their wrath against him to the boiling-point. He was a strenuous advocate of a Bill which the Commons were pressing, to apply the revenues of the Church to the purposes of the State; a Bill

which, says Hall, 'made the fat abbots to sweat, the proud priors to frown, the poor monks to curse, the silly nuns to weep, and, indeed, all to fear that Babel would fall down.' Yet there was difficulty in the way of instituting proceedings against him. He was popular with the nation, and he was a great favourite with the King himself, both for his highly estimable character, and for his military skill and valour.

Arundel's first move against him was an application to the King for permission to indict his lordship for heresy. The King, now Henry V. (his father, Henry IV., had died in March 1413), refused the permission sought till he should talk with Cobham, reason with him on his opinions, and try to reconcile him to the Catholic faith; promising, however, that if he failed to reclaim him, he should then be delivered to the Church, to be dealt with as his case might require. Henry did fail in his praiseworthy effort to recover the erring Wycliffite. He reasoned and expostulated with him, and entreated him to submit himself to his mother the Church, and to acknowledge and renounce his errors. Cobham replied: 'I am, as I have always been, most willing to obey your Majesty, as the minister of God appointed to bear the sword of justice for the punishment of evil-doers, and the protection of those who do well. To you, therefore, next to my eternal,

living Judge, I owe my whole existence, and entirely submit—as I have ever done—to your pleasure my life and all my fortune in this world, and in all affairs of it whatever am ready to perform exactly your royal commands. But as to the Pope, and the spiritual dominion which he claims, I owe him no services that I know of, nor will I pay him any ; for, as sure as God's word is true, to me it is fully evident that he is the great Antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place.'

Henry now gave permission to the Primate to proceed against him. We must shun the details of the process; the necessity of doing so our limits lay upon us. Suffice it to say that, before his ecclesiastical judges, Lord Cobham approved himself a confessor of unflinching fidelity and dauntless courage; stating his faith, defending it, and so wielding the power of the truth, as once and again visibly to stun and confound his prosecutors. We shall give three specimens.

When Arundel offered him absolution, if he would humbly claim it in the form and manner ordained by the Church, he answered, 'Forsooth, I will not; I never trespassed against you, and therefore I do not feel the want of your absolution.' Then, with tears streaming down his cheeks, he kneeled upon the floor, and, raising his eyes to

heaven, exclaimed: 'I confess myself here unto Thee, my eternal living God, that I have been a grievous sinner. How often, in my frail youth, have I offended Thee by ungoverned passions, pride, concupiscence, intemperance! How often have I been drawn into horrible sin by anger, and how many of my fellow-creatures have I injured from this cause! Good Lord! I humbly ask Thee mercy: here I need absolution.' Then, rising from his knees, and looking around him, he cried with a loud voice: 'Lo! these are your guides, good people. For the breaking of God's law and His commandments they never yet cursed me! But for their own laws and traditions most cruelly do they handle both me and other men. And therefore both they and their laws shall, by the power of God, be utterly destroyed.'

Again: Being asked by the Primate, with reference to the doctrine of transubstantiation, 'Do you believe that, after the words of consecration, there remains any material bread?' 'The Scriptures,' said Cobham, 'make no mention of *material* bread; I believe that Christ's body remains in the *form* of bread. In the sacrament there is both Christ's body and the bread; the bread is the thing that we see with our eyes, but the body of Christ is hid, and only to be seen by faith.' Upon this they with one voice cried, 'Heresy! Heresy!' One of the

bishops said vehemently, 'It is a foul heresy to call it bread.' Cobham answered, 'St. Paul was as wise a man as you, and perhaps as good a Christian, and yet he calls it bread. "The bread," saith he, "which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" To be short with you, I believe the Scriptures most cordially, but I have no faith in your lordly laws and idle determinations. Ye are no part of Christ's holy Church, as your deeds plainly show.' 'What rash and desperate fellows are these followers of Wycliffe!' exclaimed Doctor Walden, the Prior of the Carmelites. 'Before God and man,' replied Cobham, 'I solemnly here profess, that till I knew Wycliffe, whose judgment ye so highly disdain, I never abstained from sin; but after I became acquainted with that virtuous man and his despised doctrines, it has been otherwise with me. So much grace could I never find in all your pompous instructions.' 'It were hard,' said Walden, 'that in an age of so many learned instructors you should have had no grace to amend your life till you heard the devil preach.' 'Your fathers,' said Cobham, 'the old Pharisees, ascribed Christ's miracles to Beelzebub, and His doctrines to the devil. Go on, and, like them, ascribe every good thing to the devil. Go on, and pronounce every man a heretic who rebukes your vicious lives. Pray, what warrant have you from Scripture for

this very act you are now about? Where is it written in all God's law that you may thus sit in judgment on the life of man? Hold; perhaps you will quote Annas and Caiaphas, who sat upon Christ and His apostles!' 'Yes, sir,' said one of the doctors of law, 'and Christ too, for He judged Judas.' 'I never heard that He did,' said Cobham. 'Judas judged himself, and therefore went out and hanged himself. Indeed, Christ pronounced a woe against him for his covetousness, as he does still against you, who follow Judas' steps.'

Once more: Being asked by one of the friars, 'Are you ready to worship the cross on which Christ died?' 'Where is it?' said Cobham. 'But suppose it were here at this moment?' said the friar. 'A wise man indeed,' said Cobham, 'to put to me such a question, and yet he himself does not know where the thing is! But tell me, I pray, what sort of worship do I owe to it?' One of the conclave answered, 'Such worship as St. Paul speaks of, when he says, "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."' 'Right,' replied Cobham, and stretched out his arms; '*that* is the true and the very cross—far better than your cross of wood.' 'Sir,' said the Bishop of London, you know very well that Christ died upon a *material* cross.' 'True,' said Cobham; 'and know also that our salvation did not come by

that material cross, but by Him who died thereupon. Further, I know well that St. Paul rejoiced in no other cross but in Christ's passion and death *only*, and in his own sufferings and persecutions for the same truth which Christ had died for before.'

As the last day of the trial was drawing to a close, the Primate, impatiently calling on the panel to consider well the position in which he stood, said, 'You must either submit to the ordinances of the Church, or abide the dangerous consequences.' His lordship answered promptly and firmly, 'My faith is fixed; do with me what you please.' The Primate then formally and solemnly pronounced Sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, an incorrigible, pernicious, and detestable heretic; and, having condemned him as such, delivered him to the secular power.

Execution did not, as was usual in such cases, immediately follow on the condemnation. His Majesty gave the criminal a reprieve for fifty days, in the course of which he escaped from the Tower,—by what means was never known,—and fled into Wales, where he managed to conceal himself for upwards of four years. But the clergy, bent on his destruction, thoroughly poisoned Henry's mind against him. The Commons, under the influence of the Crown, passed a bill of attainder

against him, and the King set a price of a thousand marks on his head. At length, towards the end of 1417, he was discovered and taken by Lord Powis. His sentence was, that he should be both hanged and burned—hanged for treason, and burned for heresy; and the sentence was executed in all its horrors. Brought out of the Tower with his hands tied behind his back, he was placed on a hurdle, and drawn on it to St. Giles' Fields. There, 'taken from the hurdle,' says Bale, 'he fell down devoutly upon his knees, and prayed to God to forgive his enemies. Then he stood up and beheld the multitude, exhorting them in most godly manner to follow the law of God written in the Scriptures, and in anywise to beware of such teachers as they see contrary to Christ in their conversation and living; with many other special counsels. Then was he hanged up there in chains of iron, and so consumed alive in the fire, praising the name of God so long as life lasted. In the end, he commended his soul into the hands of God, and so departed hence most christianly, his body being resolved into ashes. And this was done in the year of our Lord 1418, which was the sixth year of the reign of Henry V., the people there present showing great dolour.'

Greatly mortified at Cobham's escape from the Tower, the clergy loaded him and his party with

HENRY V. DISPERSING A MEETING OF LOLLARDS.

their revilings. Among other gross calumnies, they represented the assemblies of the Lollards for religious worship as seditious meetings, and obtained a royal proclamation to suppress them. This led them to meet in small companies in places of retirement, and often in the dead of night. One of their frequent resorts on such occasions was St. Giles' Fields, which were then a thicket or copse. A number of them met there for the communion of saints on January 6, 1414. The King was then at Eltham, a few miles from London ; and a message was brought him that Lord Cobham, at the head of twenty thousand Lollards, was stationed in St. Giles' Fields, with the intent of putting their persecutors to the sword, seizing the person of the King, and making himself regent of the kingdom. Believing the malignant falsehood, Henry instantly armed the few soldiers he could muster ; marched at their head to the place ; found a body of Lollard worshippers, and fell upon them, killing twenty and taking sixty prisoners ; and then marched on, but saw no more of the conspirators. He imagined that he had only disposed of the advanced guard of the traitors, whereas he had routed the whole army !

The prisons of London were forthwith filled with Lollards to overflowing. It was to increase the accommodation for them that the addition to Lambeth Palace was built, still known as the Lollards'

Tower, a monument of the horrid treatment to which those witnesses for the truth were subjected. That prison tower is entered by a narrow doorway, hardly sufficient to admit one person at a time. It has two doors, an inner and an outer, of strong oak. It has eight large iron rings fixed in the walls, to which the prisoners were tied ; the thick wainscot on the walls having many of their names rudely scratched on it, as also 'words and sentences, the silent utterance of hearts overcharged with sorrow.' Of the sixty persons whom Henry took prisoners in his Quixotic midnight attack, thirty-nine were burnt for heresy in St. Giles' Fields. Three of these were Beverly, a Lollard preacher ; Sir Roger Acton, a man of much learning and property ; and John Brown. Arundel died in 1414, and was succeeded by Chicheley, who proved a more rancorous persecutor of the Lollards than his predecessor. Under his influence a statute was enacted, requiring all persons admitted into office, from the Chancellor downwards, to swear that they would do everything in their power to extirpate them. The statute also charged them with political disaffection and incendiarism. In this Chicheley must have consciously maligned them, for no one knew better that religious heresy alone was the crime for which they suffered. He likewise issued an order, in 1416, directing that 'these persons in every parish should

be examined twice every year upon oath, and required to inform against any persons whom they knew or understood to frequent private conventicles, or to differ in their life or manners from the common conversation of Catholic men, or to have any suspected books in the English language, that process might be made against them;' and if not sentenced to be burned, they were to be kept in prison till the next Convocation of the clergy.

The machinery for destroying the Lollards was thus complete; and it was not allowed to rust. In 1415, John Claydon, a furrier in London, was burned in Smithfield. His crime was having in his possession certain English Lollard books. Richard Turmin, a London baker, was burned with him, sharing his fate because he was a partaker of his Lollardism. In 1419 the Primate called a Convocation in London, before which several Lollards were brought, and obliged to abjure their opinions or lay down their life at the stake. Henry V. died in 1422, and was succeeded by his son, Henry VI., then an infant; but the havoc of the Lollards continued. In 1423, William Taylor, a priest in the diocese of Canterbury, was degraded and burned in Smithfield. His heresy was, teaching 'that prayers for spiritual gifts were to be made to God alone, and that to pray to creatures was idolatry.' In the diocese of

Norwich, many suffered between 1424 and 1428, and again between 1428 and 1431. In the latter three years above a hundred and twenty persons were imprisoned for heresy, many of whom were given to the flames. William White, a priest, on becoming a follower of Wycliffe, resigned his priesthood and living, but devoted himself to the work of an evangelist. He was burned at Norwich in 1424. His main heresy was, teaching 'that men should seek the forgiveness of their sins from God only; that the Pope was an enemy to Christ's truth; and that men ought not to worship images.' His wife followed in his footsteps as a follower of the truth, for which 'she suffered much trouble.' Among the Norwich delinquents was John Baker, whose crime was having in his possession a book containing the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and the Creed in English; Marjory Backston, whose crime was having a 'brass pot,' containing a piece of bacon and oatmeal, on the fire the first Sunday in Lent, and corrupting a neighbour by saying that kneeling and praying to images in churches was useless; and Nicholas Belward, whose crime was buying a New Testament in London, for which he paid four marks and forty pence, or £2, 16s. 8d., equal to more than £20 of our present money.

The persecution raged in other places as well as in Norwich. It extended more or less over the

kingdom. In London, very many suffered for their 'mad opinions;' so the bishops' registers describe their Lollardism. In Norfolk, John Florence, a turner, accused of holding heretical opinions about the Pope and the worship of images, got his life for a prey; on condition, however, of his 'performing penance, and being disciplined with a rod before all the people for three Sundays in the cathedral at Norwich, and three other Sundays in his parish church at Shelton. As a part of this punishment, he had to walk in a procession bare-headed, bare-footed, and bare-necked, in a canvas shirt and canvas breeches, bearing a taper.'

Chicheley died in 1443, but his death brought no relief to the Lollards. The next three Primates were cardinals, all of whom were zealous in doing the work of the 'woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.' Bourchier, the last of the three, had a singular delinquent to deal with. He was Reginald Peacock, Bishop of Chichester. He got so far tinged with Lollardism as to attack the mendicant friars, and to contend stoutly that the Scriptures are the foundation and the sole rule of faith. He escaped the fire; but an outcry of blasphemy was raised against him, and he was expelled the House of Lords, and was forbidden the King's presence. Bourchier convicted him of heresy, but he pur-

chased his life by recanting, was deprived of his bishopric, and was confined for the residue of his days in a secret chamber in Thorney Abbey, in Cambridgeshire.

During the wars of the Roses the persecution of the Lollards was in a great measure suspended. As Fuller finely says, 'the very storm was their shelter.' We read of only one sacrifice during that period to the Moloch of religious intolerance,—John Goose, burnt on Tower Hill in 1473. But the worship of this demon was resumed in the time of Henry VII., and the smoke of its altars was more frequent and dense than before, though the records of it are comparatively scanty.

In 1494, Joan Boughton, a widow of upwards of fourscore, was burned in Smithfield. Her crime was, holding most of Wycliffe's doctrines, and that so stedfastly, 'that all the doctors in London could not turn her from one of them.' She was the mother of Lady Young, also a sufferer for the same cause; and she had the honour of being the first woman burned for heresy in England. Several others suffered about the same time.

In 1506, William Aylsworth was burnt at Amersham, in Buckinghamshire. His friends and relations were compelled to carry the faggots for his pile to the place of execution; and his only daughter, a married woman, was compelled to

set the fire to them. The courage of her husband and sixty others failed them in view of the stake, and they had to do penance—all of it most degrading, and some of it very painful. Many of them were branded on the cheek with a hot iron.

The day after Alysworth's execution, Roberts, a miller of Missenden, was burnt at Buckingham. Twenty others were, at the same time, 'made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men,' by being compelled to bear faggots, and to do penance.

In the course of the following three years two more victims were burned at Amersham, and others, who escaped the fire, were branded on the cheek. Father Rogers, as he was called, was confined for fourteen weeks in the bishop's prison, where he suffered so much from cold and hunger, and the heavy irons with which he was loaded, that he never stood upright again. Thomas Chase, another Amersham victim, fared still more pitiably. After suffering in prison similar treatment to that of Rogers, he was strangled, his murderers giving out that he committed suicide; which was falsified by a witness, who heard him calling on God to receive his spirit as they were putting him to death.

In this reign Laurence Ghest was burnt at Salisbury, after an imprisonment of two years. When they had bound him to the stake, they

presented his wife and their seven children before him, to induce him to recant; but his constancy proved immoveable. As he loved not his life to the death, so neither loved he to the death his wife and children.

The last Lollard martyr under Henry VII. whom we shall advert to was a woman, her name unknown. She was burnt at the town of Chippensadbury. The Chancellor, Dr. Whitton, who condemned her, was present at the execution; and as the multitude was dispersing, an infuriated ox, passing by others, gored him, rending him with its horns, and carrying his bowels in triumph over all the street,—an occurrence which was interpreted as a judicial visitation of Divine Providence.

The accession of Henry VIII. to the throne took place in 1509. The dismal work of Lollard persecution continued in his reign with even increased severity. The memorials of it are more exact and copious than those of preceding reigns; but we must not, therefore, relax our effort at compression.

In 1511, on the suit of Longbard, Bishop of Lincoln, who represented to him the alarming increase of the Lollards, Henry ordered the mayors, sheriffs, and other officers to aid the Bishop in bringing the heretics to justice. A suspected Lollard, whose name is not given, was

seen in a wood, where he had been praying by himself, sitting on a stile and reading an English book of prayers. His house was searched, and portions of the Bible were found hidden under the floor—Wycliffe's Bible, doubtless, which those who ventured to possess themselves of it, at the peril of their lives, were in the way of hiding from the Romish inquisitors and their spies. The culprit was brought before Longbard, and burnt as a relapsed heretic; he having, at some previous date, abjured heresies imputed to him.

The same year, William Carder of Tenterden, Robert Harrison, Edward Walker, and Agnes Greville were added to the list of the martyrs. It is only of the first and the last of them that we have any particulars. Carder was willing to retract all his Lollardism, except 'that it was enough to pray to Almighty God alone, and that we needed not to pray to saints;' but such a qualified retractation could not be accepted, and he was given to the flames. Agnes Greville's husband and two sons were brought into court, and, to save their own lives, were forced to give evidence of her holding Lollard opinions. The poor woman, in the paroxysm of her anguish and terror, 'burst into these words openly, that she repented the time that ever she bare these children,' and declared her readiness to recant. But this the Arch-

bishop (Warham) would not allow, and she too was committed to the fire.

The same year eight men and four women were subjected by Longbard to very severe penance. Their crimes were — denying transubstantiation; that baptism and confirmation were necessary to salvation; that confession of sin ought to be made to a priest; that God has given more power to a priest than to a layman; and that extreme unction, pilgrimages, worshipping of images, and various other Romish observances, were not to be found in Scripture. Those who were not burned for such crimes must not seldom have envied those who were. One portion of them was immured in prisons; and when death released them, 'they were wont,' says Foxe, 'to be thrown out to dogs and birds, as unworthy of Christian burial.' Another portion of them was, after all the public ignominy connected with abjuring, consigned to monasteries, 'to linger out the rest of their days, and obliged, on certain public market days and processions, to appear with a fagot, the emblem of recantation, on their shoulders. They were also condemned to be present (if called on) once at the burning of a heretic.'

The same year William Swerting was burnt in Smithfield. He had been long suspected of Lollard pravity. He had been once in the

Lollards' Tower; and after abjuring in St. Paul's Church, he had to carry a fagot at St. Paul's Cross, and was adjudged to wear the figure of a fagot on his coat for the remainder of his life. His pravity, in spite of these means of purging it out, remained in him, and he was ordered to execution —the charges against him being, his acquaintance and fellowship with Wycliffites; his advising his wife, when she would go on pilgrimage, to stay at home and mind her own business; his reproving her for worshipping the images in the church, and setting up candles before them; and his holding that the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ, but the memorial of Him in the substance of bread.

The case of James Brewster was very similar; the chief articles of his indictment being, his acquaintance with heretics, and his speaking disrespectfully of pilgrimages. He was tried the same day with Swerting, was condemned with him, and was fixed to the same stake and burned in the same fire.

About this time, Dean Colet, the munificent founder of St. Paul's School, made a narrow escape. Fitz-James, the Bishop of London, accused him of heresy to Archbishop Warham; one article in the accusation being, that he had translated the Paternoster, or Lord's Prayer, into Eng-

lish! Happily for Colet, Warham was his personal friend, and quashed the proceedings against him.

The registers of Bishop Fitz-James show how busy he made himself, from 1509 to 1517, in persecuting the Wycliffites. They show, besides, how absolutely antichristian in their own views, and in their spirit and aim, he and his clergy were. For example, as proof of the impiety of a certain Joan Baker, they record that she not only would not reverence the cross herself (*i.e.* the material cross), 'but that she had also persuaded a friend of hers, lying at the point of death, not to put any trust or confidence in the crucifix, but in God who is in heaven, who only worketh all the miracles that are done, and not the dead images, which are but stocks and stones; and therefore she was sorry that she had so often gone on pilgrimage to idols.' As another example, even more astounding, five persons being charged with reading certain heretical books, the proof adduced in support of the charge, and sustained as relevant and conclusive, was that on a given night, and during all the night, 'they erroneously and damnably read . . . certain chapters of the Evangelists in English, containing in them divers erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy,' etc.!

In 1514, Robert Thin, a merchant tailor in

London, was accused of heresy before Bishop Fitz-James, who apprehended him and committed him to close custody in the Lollards' Tower at St. Paul's, none of his friends being allowed access to him. We noticed already the Lollards' Tower in Lambeth Palace; but in those very orthodox times each prelate had his own prison for heretics, and Fitz-James' prison was one of the towers at the west end of the old Cathedral of St. Paul's, the spot where the clock now stands. There many endured a living death, and there Thin was murdered. He was examined the day after his imprisonment, and the following morning. the boy who carried his breakfast to him found him dead, hanging by a silken girdle. Doctor Horsey, chancellor of the diocese, had murdered him, and then hung his body on the wall by his own girdle, to give colour to the clergy's story that Thin had committed suicide. The verdict of a coroner's inquest was that he had been murdered. There was an immediate outcry for justice on his murderers, which the clergy tried to still by condemning the dead man for heresy, it having appeared in his examination that a copy of Wycliffe's Bible had been found in his house, and Wycliffe's 'damnable works;' and that 'he defendeth the translation of the Bible and the Holy Scripture into the English tongue, which is prohibited by the laws

of our mother, Holy Church.' Having condemned him, they disinterred his body, and burned it in Smithfield! The outcry for justice on his murderers, instead of being allayed by these proceedings, was louder than before. The King, at the request of Parliament, ordered that the property of the deceased, amounting to £1500, and which his heresy had forfeited, should be restored to his children, as a compensation for this 'cruel murder.' Soon after, a bill passed the Commons for bringing the murderers to justice, but the clergy had influence enough to get the bill thrown out in the Lords, and the matter was hushed up; but the public indignation was such, that Horsey did not find it convenient to remain in London, but fled to Exeter.

In 1517, John Brown was burned in Ashford. Sailing in a Gravesend barge between that town and London, he had sat more closely to a fellow-passenger, who happened to be a priest, than was agreeable to his reverence. 'Dost thou know who I am? Thou sittest too near me; thou sittest on my clothes.' 'No, sir,' said Brown, 'I know not what you are.' 'I tell thee I am a priest.' 'What, sir! are you a parson, a vicar, or a lady's chaplain?' 'No,' said the priest; 'I am a soul priest; I sing for souls;' meaning that he was one who sang mass for the deliverance of souls out of

purgatory. 'I pray you, sir,' said Brown, 'where do you find the soul when you go to mass?' 'I cannot tell thee,' said the priest. 'I pray you, where do you leave it, sir, when the mass is done?' 'I cannot tell thee,' again replied the priest. 'Then you can neither tell where you find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done; how, then, can you save the soul?' inquired Brown. 'Go thy way,' said the priest; 'thou art a heretic, and I will be even with thee.'

The priest was as good as his word. Hastening to Archbishop Warham, he informed him against Brown. Three days after, a bailiff, attended by some of the Archbishop's servants, entered Brown's house, apprehended him, put him on his own horse, with his feet tied under its belly, and conveyed him to Canterbury. There he was kept forty days in prison, and was most 'piteously treated, his bare feet being set on burning coals to make him deny his faith;' and thence he was sent to Ashford, where he had resided, to be given to the fire. Brought thither the night before his execution, and set in the stocks, a maid of his house saw him, and ran with the sad tidings to her mistress, who had remained ignorant of the fate of her husband. She came, and sat beside him all night; and he told her how he had been treated, and how his feet had been burned to the bone, so that he could

not set them to the ground—'to make me,' said he, 'deny my Lord, which I will never do; for if I should deny Him in this world, He would deny me hereafter. And I pray thee, good Elizabeth, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children virtuously in the fear of God.' The next day he was burned, and died praying, his last words being, 'Into Thine hand I commit my spirit: Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.'

Brown's wife and children appear to have walked in his ways. His son Richard was a prisoner for his religion when the 'Bloody Mary' died, and his life and liberty he owed to the accession of Elizabeth to the throne.

In 1518, John Hillman was burned in Smithfield, some of Wycliffe's works, which he kept hid in the hollow of an old oak, being discovered. In the reign of Henry VII. the fear of the stake had overcome him, and he had recanted, for which he was sincerely and deeply sorry. But he had now got courage to die for Christ; and, condemned by Fitz-James as a relapsed heretic, he was consigned to the flames.

The same year Thomas Mann was burned in the same place. He was a Lollard preacher, who had itinerated much in fulfilling his ministry, having been once and again in Norfolk, Essex,

Suffolk, Middlesex, Berks, and Buckinghamshire. He formed congregations at Newbury and Amersham, both of which were dispersed by persecution. Some members of the former were burned, and others punished in various ways. The Bishop's Register records that 'he confessed that he had turned 700 people to his religion, for which he thanked God;' a crime which nothing but his life could expiate.

The same year Robert Cosin was burned at Buckingham, for teaching Joan Norman that she might drink on Sunday before mass as well as on any other day, contrary to the rule of Holy Mother Church, that people ought not to break their fast before they receive the consecrated bread; and Christopher Shoomaker was burned at Newbury, because he came to the house of John Say, and read to him 'out of a book the words which Christ spake to His disciples,' teaching them that the 'sacrifice of the mass remained in substance bread, bearing the remembrance of Christ.'

'It is heart-sickening,' says a living writer, summarizing the melancholy annals of those times, 'to turn over page after page of the history of those days, and find in them all the same sad tale of woe. In 1519 seven martyrs were burned together at Coventry, because they had taught their children and servants the Lord's Prayer and the Ten

Commandments in English. Their poor children were sent to the monastery of the Grey Friars in Coventry, and warned never to meddle with the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, or the Ten Commandments in English, or they might expect to suffer the same death as their parents. The records of the diocese of Lincoln of 1521 contain a list of a hundred names of persons, most of whom were accused for reading or repeating parts of the Scriptures in English. One man, John Barrett, a goldsmith of London, suffered with his wife and maid, because he had in their presence repeated the Epistle of St. James without book. Another, Agnes Ward, because when Gardiner said, "God help us, and our Lady, and all the saints of heaven," she replied, "What need is there to go to the feet when we may go to the Head?" Six others were found guilty for not being able to say the Creed in Latin, and others because they repeated the Paternoster, Creed, and Ave in English. Robert Drury was accused for having allowed his servant to eat bread and cheese on a fast day.'

We may add that four of the Lincoln 'hundred' appear to have been committed to the flames, the children of one of them being compelled to kindle their father's pile; that the charge against another was, saying when her father was a-dying that 'all who die go either to heaven or to hell,'—the witness

against her being her more orthodox sister, who contradicted her, saying, 'Nay, there is between them purgatory;' and that the charge against other two was, their alleging that the consecrated host was not the true body of Christ, the proof of the allegation being that a mouse put into the pix will eat it up, as it did at Essex when two priests profanely tried the experiment, for which one of them was burned.

About this time the persecuting zeal of Rome, normally lively enough, was sensibly quickened. Two things contributed to do this,—the threatening aspect which the Reformation in Germany was assuming; and the activity of the press in multiplying copies of the works of the Reformers, Luther, Melancthon, Zwinglius, etc., which, in spite of all laws to the contrary, were largely imported into England, widely circulated, and greedily read. Both these causes continued to operate with rapidly augmenting force, till, in the course of a quarter of a century, Lollardism developed into Protestantism, or at least was merged in it.

A host of English Lollards yet remains. We must select from them; and we shall content ourselves with selecting two of the more prominent of them, Bilney and Bainham.

Thomas Bilney studied at Cambridge, was an excellent scholar, and became a very fervent

Christian. He had an 'invincible desire to win souls to Christ;' and one of the first that he won at Cambridge was the famous Latimer, one of the fathers of the English Reformation. He would reclaim Bilney from the errors of Lollardism; and the happy result of his attempt to do so was, that he himself was reclaimed from the errors of Romanism. The simple means by which Bilney converted him was a leaf from his own experience. He told Latimer how he had in vain sought rest to his soul in all the mortifications and observances of Popery, and how he had found it not in working, but in believing—believing what had been done, when Christ cried on the cross, 'It is finished.' Latimer mused on the contents of the leaf with intense interest; it darted new light into his mind, and came with new power to his heart. His sins, more especially his unbelief, rose up before him, and, as he was 'made to possess' them, he wept bitterly. Softly and sweetly did Bilney whisper into his ear, 'Brother, though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as snow.' Latimer believed, and believing, he too found rest to his soul.

After this Bilney left Cambridge, and took a wide circuit of the country, preaching the gospel with great clearness and fulness, and exposing the delusions of Popery. Wolsey, then in the height of his power and glory, hearing of his proceedings,

had him apprehended and imprisoned. Brought to trial, his indictment was large; but the gist of it was the usual charges of heresy to which the Lollards were called to answer. Bilney was not yet ready for the stake. His fortitude failed him, and he was prevailed on to recant. He was released; and his penance was, to carry a fagot in procession, and to stand, a spectacle to all, before the preacher at St. Paul's Cross during the sermon.

His recantation was soon as a sword in his bones. Truly was he made to know and see that it was an evil thing and a bitter! He returned to Cambridge, remorse gnawing him, and his confusion covering him, so clear a sight and so keen a sense had he of his unfaithfulness and cowardice! At length, two years after his fall, by 'doing the first works' he obtained pardon and recovered peace, and he forthwith began anew to witness for Christ. One night he bade his friends at Cambridge adieu, saying that he was 'going up to Jerusalem.' He went to Norfolk, and resumed the work of 'winning souls to Christ,' by 'testifying the gospel of the grace of God.' He was arrested and imprisoned, tried and convicted as a relapsed heretic, and was burned on the 10th of November 1531 at Lollard Pit, a valley without Bishopgate, at the bottom of St. Leonard's Hill.

The night before his execution, he conversed

most comfortably with friends who visited him, dwelling much on Isaiah xliii. 1-3: 'Thus saith the Lord, Fear not, for I have redeemed thee,' etc. At the stake he prayed very earnestly and composedly, and concluded with adopting the very appropriate words of Psalm cxliii. Having been chained to the stake, Dr. Warner approached him, and took farewell of him with tears; Bilney, gently smiling, thanking the Doctor for all his kindness, and saying, 'Oh, Master Doctor, feed your flock, that when the Lord cometh He may find you so doing. Farewell, my good Doctor, and pray for me.' Some friars and others having begged him to express his charity towards them, and to excuse them of being the cause of his death, he exclaimed: 'Good people, I beseech you not to behave the worse to these men for my sake; they are not the cause of my death.'

'The officers then surrounded his body with reeds and fagots, and set fire to the reeds, which made a great flame, that chiefly injured his face, while he continued holding up his hand, and calling on the name of Jesus. For some time the flame was kept at a distance from him by the wind; but at length the wood caught fire, and burned with great fury till the martyr was consumed to ashes.'

James Bainham was the son of Sir Alexander Bainham, of Gloucestershire. He was educated

for the legal profession, and had an honoured place in the Temple as an attorney. The poor and the oppressed well knew his kind, compassionate nature, and crowded to him for advice and help, which they never sought in vain. He was a person of still higher worth. He was much given to prayer, and to the reading of the Scriptures, and altogether led a most exemplary Christian life. A Lollard in his opinions, he fell a victim to Sir Thomas More's severity.

Sir Thomas had succeeded Wolsey as Lord Chancellor of England. In his earlier years he was a warm friend and advocate of religious toleration. The king of his Utopia 'made a law that every man might be of what religion he pleased, and might endeavour to draw others to it by the force of argument, and by amiable and modest ways, without bitterness against those of other opinions. What a mercy to the world had it been, had all other kings been like-minded! This law was made by Utopus not only for preserving the public peace, which he saw suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable heats, but because he thought it was required by a due regard to the interests of religion itself. He judged it not fit to decide rashly any matter of opinion; and he deemed it foolish and indecent to threaten and terrify another for the purpose of making him be-

lieve what did not appear to him to be true.' But on the woolsack Sir Thomas not only forgot these noble sentiments, but became a rancorous persecutor of all nonconformists to the established Popery. Hearing of Bainham's Lollardism, he brought him to his own house in Chelsea, where he detained him a prisoner. He set himself to reclaim him to Papal orthodoxy, and also to discover from him his accomplices in his religious delinquencies; but he failed in both. He then had him tied to a tree in his garden, called the 'Tree of Truth;' and there, to drive heresy out of him, the Lord Chancellor of England literally whipped him with his own hand! The whipping proving ineffectual, he next sent him to the Tower, had him tortured on the rack, was himself present at the administration of the discipline applied to the body for the good of the soul; and he made the instrument of torture be worked so severely, that Bainham was taken off it more dead than alive. This was in the first half of December 1531.

By the treatment to which he was subjected he was so broken down in mind as well as in body, that by the middle of February 1532 he was induced to recant his Lollard opinions, and to submit himself to the Church of Rome. But scarcely had a month elapsed when he bitterly bewailed his weakness. He did so first before the congregation

which then met secretly in Bow Lane; and on the following Sabbath he went to St. Augustine's Church, with Tyndale's New Testament in his hand, and, standing up before the congregation, he lamented and recalled his recantation, begged the people to forgive him for it, and, holding up the New Testament, said: 'Should I not return again unto the truth, this word of God would destroy me, both body and soul, at the day of judgment. Beware of my weakness, and be careful not to imitate my conduct. I beseech every one rather to suffer death than to do as I have done; for I would not feel such an hell again as I have felt for all the world's goods.'

Bainham was almost immediately seized, and committed to close custody. On the 19th of April 1532 he was brought before Richard Foxford, Vicar-General to the Bishop of London, accompanied by certain divines, and by Matthew Grafton the Register. This final trial occupied three days. It was finished on the 26th of April, when Foxford pronounced the definitive sentence, and delivered the martyr to the secular arm. The conclusion of Foxe's account of him has been thus epitomized:—

'Mr. Bainham, throughout the whole of his imprisonment, was treated with the utmost cruelty. For about a fortnight he was confined in the Bishop's coal-house, with his feet set fast in the

stocks, and iron fetters upon his legs. Thence he was removed to the custody of the Lord Chancellor, who kept him two nights chained to a post. He was then carried to Fulham, where he was treated with great cruelty for a week; then to the Tower, where he was scourged with whips to make him recant his opinions. Then he was carried to Barking; then to Chelsea, where he was condemned; and lastly to Newgate, whence he was taken to the place of execution. His words at the stake deserve to be held in everlasting remembrance. When his arms and legs were half consumed in the fire, he exclaimed, "Behold, ye Papists! you look for miracles, here you may behold one; for in this fire I feel no more pain than if I were on a bed of down, but it is sweet to me as a bed of roses." From the whole of his story we may learn that true happiness can only be found in closely adhering to the path of duty, even though that path should lay [lie] through the midst of floods and flames. Whenever we refuse to obey our divine Master, we are certain to experience in our consciences a distressing sense of our guilt, and of the punishment which such conduct deserves; whereas, if we in all things conform to the commandments of God, He has promised He will never forsake us, but that we shall be furnished with grace fully equal to our day of affliction.'

THE SCOTTISH LOLLARDS.

LOLLARDISM was not indigenous in Scotland, as it was in England. It was an exotic in this northern part of the island; but it was soon brought to it from the south, and it took root readily in our soil, and grew luxuriantly. Wycliffe died in 1384, and the proto-martyr for Lollardism in Scotland was burned at Perth in or about 1407. This honour fell not to a native, but to an Englishman, named James Resby. It is said that he had come into our country for a refuge from persecution; and in place of what he sought, he found in it a martyr's crown.

For all that we know of Resby we are indebted to Bower, the continuator of Fordun, a decided Romanist, who thought that his Church, in giving Resby to the flames, was doing God service, and

rendering to him the punishment due to his heresies. His notice of him is short, but very suggestive. He describes him as an English presbyter or priest, of the shoot of John Wycliffe, condemned as a heretic in a council of the clergy under Master Laurence of Lindores. He admits that Resby was for some time reputed a very famous preacher by 'the simple;' by whom he meant, we doubt not, the common people, as distinguished from the wise men after the flesh, the mighty, and the noble, and more especially from the learned, watchful, and jealous clergy, whose scent of heresy was as keen as the war-horse's scent for the battle, which he smelleth afar off. But he says that, though for a while a highly popular preacher, Resby at length interspersed his teaching with most dangerous sentiments, and was convicted of holding no fewer than forty heresies. He specifies only two of these, viz. that the Pope is not the vicar of Christ, and that none but a holy man ought to be acknowledged for Pope. He does not say what his other thirty-eight heresies were, but we are at no loss to divine them. We have a sure index to them in the fact which Bower states, that Resby was a disciple of Wycliffe; so that his unspecified heresies must have been what his persecutors took for Wycliffism, and branded as such. Further, Bower acknow-

ledges that Resby did not stand alone in his day. Wycliffe had then other disciples in Scotland, who entertained his opinions and books, though with extreme secrecy, by instigation of the devil (so the Popish historian charitably puts it!) working on those to whom 'stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant.' Moreover, he tells us that he seldom, if ever, knew any infected with the pestilent doctrines of that wicked school being recovered from them, or going to sleep in the Lord in a Christian manner—a high compliment, certainly, to the constancy of the Lollards, an unwitting testimony to their being stedfast and immoveable in all the fiery trials through which their enemies made them pass.

Twenty-five years elapsed before Lollardism had its second martyr in Scotland; but in the interval the principles of it spread widely in the country, and took a powerful hold of many of the people. Of this we have many and various and clear indications, notwithstanding the scantiness of the memorials of those times that have come down to us.

One of these indications is the Pope's appointing Laurence of Lindores to the office of Inquisitor of Heresy for Scotland. Why this appointment? Rome was uneasy about Scotland's orthodoxy. The heart of His Holiness was meditating terror for some heresy that was troubling the Scottish

Church, and threatening to corrupt it from the purity of the Romish faith. And that heresy was Lollardism. There was no other to cause such disquietude and alarm. It was, above all other things, to search for Lollardism, and to do battle with it—it was to seize its apostles and abettors, and to rid the land of them by burning them, that the Abbot of Lindores was clothed with the office and armed with the powers of Inquisitor-General for Scotland.

Another indication of the same thing is the praise bestowed on certain persons of that age for championing orthodoxy and opposing Lollardism. The Duke of Albany, for example, was made Governor of Scotland in 1405, so that it was during his administration, and soon after the commencement of it, that Resby was committed to the flames. And what is Wintoun's eulogy of the Duke? It is such as he would never have penned—it is such that it could not have occurred to him to pen it, if Lollardism had not been then rife and strong, and if men had not been held in estimation in proportion to their zeal and efforts against it. He says of the Duke:

> 'He was a constant Catholike,
> All Lollard he hatyt and hereticke.'

Like praise is given to Haldenstone, Prior of St. Andrews; and it is equally significant of the

growth of Lollardism in his time, and the extent to which it was stirring the country. Bower, among many other good works for which he panegyrizes the Prior, says of him, 'As inquisitor, he sharply reproved and confuted heretics and Lollards.'

There is yet another indication of the same thing in the Acts passed against Lollardism by all authorities in the land, learned and political as well as ecclesiastical. Thus, in 1416, the University of St. Andrews enacted that all who commenced Masters of Arts should be required to swear that 'they would defend the Church against the insult of the Lollards, and would resist to the utmost of their power all adherents of that sect.' And the Parliament of James II., held at Perth on the 12th March 1424–5, passed the following Act :—

OF HERETICKIS AND LOLLARDIS.

'*Item*, Anentis Heretickis and Lollardis, that ilk Bischop sall ger inquyr be the Inqusicione of Heresy quhar ony sic beis fundyne, ande at thai be punyst as Lawe of Haly Kirk requiris: Ande gif it misteris, that Secular power be callyt tharto in suppowate and helping of Haly Kirk.'

The second martyr for Lollardism in Scotland was Paul Craw or Crawar. He was a Bohemian,

of the country of John Huss, one of Wycliffe's earliest and most renowned disciples. Wycliffe's writings having reached him, and converted him to his opinions, Huss commenced preaching them, and exposing the corruptions of the Church of Rome, encouraged by the favour which Wenceslaus bore both to him and to the anti-Papal spirit which some political causes had aroused in his dominions. His followers soon became numerous; his martyrdom greatly increased them, and from their master they were called Hussites. Paul Craw was their messenger. They sent him to Scotland to salute their fellow-religionists here, to comfort them in the tribulations which they were enduring, and to work together with them in advancing the cause for which they suffered.

Craw was a physician, and was highly recommended for his skill in the healing art; which he would seem, however, to have practised only in subservience to his religious mission, in which it much aided him. It gave him access into circles which would otherwise have been shut to him, and precious opportunities of disseminating his principles, which he sedulously improved. He was a learned and able Lollard evangelist, and an acute and powerful debater. This Bower confesses, representing him as an adept in sacred learning, and as ever ready to adduce Scripture in support of his

views as occasion required. Such a man was well fitted to be a helper of Lollardism in Scotland, and he appears to have had much success. His views were on most points identical with those of Wycliffe. 'He affirmed that purgatory was a cunningly-devised fable, the efficacy of pilgrimages an imposition, and that the doctrines of transubstantiation, the power of the "keys," and priestly absolution were vain devices of human invention. He strenuously asserted the right of the laity to the free perusal of the Holy Scriptures; and what was probably regarded as the most obnoxious of all his heretical opinions, he asserted that in temporal matters the spiritual should be subordinate to the civil, and that magistrates had a right to try and to punish ecclesiastics who had been guilty of criminal offences. In the celebration of the Lord's Supper, Crawar and his followers rejected the unauthorized rites of the Romish Church, and clearly followed the example of the primitive Christians. They commenced the service by the Lord's Prayer, after which they read the history of the institution of the ordinance, as contained in the New Testament, and then proceeded to distribute the elements, using common bread and a common drinking-cup or goblet.'

So dangerous an enemy of Rome could not be borne with. 'He was confuted,' Bower says, 'by

the venerable man Master Laurence of Lindores, inquisitor of heretical pravity, who gave rest nowhere within the kingdom to heretics and Lollards.' The whole process of Laurence's 'confuting' of him we have not seen ; but the most effective part of it, doubtless, was that which Bishop Lesley thus records: 'Coming to St. Andrews, he (Craw) scattered his poison secretly in the University. In a short time, his designs being discovered, he was reasoned with by some learned men. But heresy had taken such firm hold of his mind, that neither the force of argument, nor the authority of antiquity, nor the testimony of the Fathers of the Church, nor the true sense of Holy Scripture, could move him. He was therefore committed to the flames, to prevent the evil from spreading.' This was in 1432, and the scene of his execution was the market-place of St. Andrews. We have only one item more of information concerning him. Laurence, afraid of the effect which his last speech and dying words might have produced, had his mouth stopped at the stake. 'To declare thame selvis,' says Knox, 'to be the generatioun of Sathan, who from the begynnyng hath bein ennemy to thé treuth, and he that desyrith the same to be hyd frome the knowledge of men, thei putt a ball of brass in his mouth, to the end that he should nott geve confessioun of his fayth to the people,

neyther yit that thei should understand the defence which he had against thair injust accusatioun and condemnatioun.'

The next notice of the Lollards in our annals carries us forward toward the close of the fifteenth century. In 1494 no fewer than thirty Lollards of Ayrshire were tried for heresy. After the death of Wycliffe, the English Lollards were scattered abroad by the grievous persecutions to which they were subjected. Some of them found their way to the western parts of Scotland, and, settling there, propagated their faith, and made many converts to it. These are known in history by the name of the Lollards of Kyle. Thirty of them were summoned by Blackadder, Archbishop of Glasgow, before King James IV. and his great Council, to answer for their Lollardism. Knox, copying from the Glasgow 'Register,' or 'Scrollis,' which is now lost, gives in his *History* the names of some of the thirty, the articles of which they were accused, and a glimpse of how the trial proceeded, with the issue of it.

The names specified are—George Campbell of Cesnock, Adam Reid of Barskimming, John Campbell of Newmilns, Andrew Shaw of Polkemmet, Helen Chalmers, (by courtesy) Lady Polkellie, and Marion Chalmers, Lady Stairs. It is interesting to note that such of the posterity of those worthies as

figure most in the next two centuries did not dishonour the Lollard blood that ran in their veins.

They were charged with thirty-two heresies; all of them, of course, wicked and dangerous, but some of them peculiarly 'damnable.' They condemned, for example, the worship of saints, images, and relics, and even said that we should not pray to the glorious Virgin Mary, but to God only. They denied transubstantiation, and held the worship of the sacrament of the altar to be idolatry. They maintained that the Pope is not the successor of Peter, except wherein it was said unto Peter, 'Get thee behind me, Satan;' but that he and his bishops deceive the people, by their pardons, their bulls and indulgences, and their masses for souls in purgatory; and that he exalts himself against God and above God. They rejected celibacy and the pretended miracles of Rome, and would not allow that they were bound to believe all that the doctors of the Kirk had written. Admitting the Pope's headship, they declared that he was the head of the Kirk of Antichrist, that he and his ministers were murderers of souls, and that the princes and prelates of his empire were thieves and robbers.

Very pertinently and justly does Knox remark: 'By these articles, which God of His mercyfull providence caused the ennemies of His trewth to

keip in thare registeris, may appeir how mercyfullie God hath looked upoun this realme, reteanyng within it some sponk of His light, evin in the tyme of grettast darkness. Nether yit awght any man to wonder, albeit that some thingis be obscurly, and some thingis scrabusly spokin ; but rather awght all faythfull to magnifye Goddis mercy, who without publict doctrin gave so great light.'

Adam Reid of Barskimming, one of themselves, was counsel for the accused—a man, evidently, of great shrewdness and humour ; and his defence gave the trial a turn so irresistibly ludicrous, that it quite broke down. In the early edition of Knox's *History*, Reid is, by a mistake of the press, called 'Adam Reid of *Blaspheming!*' Had Bishop Blackadder lived to read the *History*, he would, we suspect, have thought the misprint a very happy one. The Bishop, in mockery, asked Reid whether he believed that God was in heaven. Reid answered in effect, that he believed God was in heaven with a better faith than he had in the Seven Sacraments of Rome. The Bishop cried out, 'He denies that God is in heaven ;' at which the King, wondering, asked, 'Adam Reid, what say you ?' Reid replied, 'Please your Majesty to hear the end betwixt the churl and me.' Reid then thus addressed the Archbishop : 'I neither

think nor believe as thou thinkest that God is in heaven; but I am most assured that He is not only in heaven, but also in earth. But thou and thy faction declare by your works that either ye think there is no God at all, or that He so sits in heaven that he regards not what is done upon the earth; for if thou firmly believedst that God were in the heaven, thou shouldest not make thyself check-mate to the King, and altogether forget the charge that Jesus Christ the Son of God gave to His apostles, which was to preach His gospel, and not to play the proud prelates, as all the rabble of you do this day. And now, sir,' he added, addressing the King, 'judge ye whether the Bishop or I believe best that God is in heaven.' Blackadder and his accomplices were stunned by the blow, and hung down their heads. The King, highly enjoying the comedy, asked Reid, 'Wilt thou burn thy bill?' (*i.e.* abjure his opinions, of which the burning of his bill would have been the sign). Reid rejoined, 'Sir, the Bishop, if you will;' and the rejoinder evoked peals of laughter.

Thus Adam Reid, by his rough but pawky and pungent wit, turned the charge against him and his fellow-panels into ridicule; and the result was, that the diet against them was deserted, and they were dismissed, with a caution to beware of new doctrines, and to content themselves with believ-

ing as the Church believed. This was a signal triumph to the Lollards. The trial made their principles better known in the country than ever they had been before; and the ridiculous breakdown of the attempt to get them branded as heresy, and suppressed by force, mightily quickened their progress.

'After that dyet,' says Knox, 'we find almoist no questioun for materis of religioun the space ney of thretty yearis. It pleased God of His great mercy, in the year of God 1527, to raise up His servand, MAISTER PATRIK HAMYLTOUN, at whome our hystorie doith begyn.' Beginning the history of the Reformation in Scotland at that date, he drops the name of Lollards, and calls the agents in it the Reformers; and in this he is generally followed by succeeding writers. But the justice of this might be fairly challenged, if the point were much worth disputing. Scottish *Lollards* and Scottish *Reformers* are designations which do not contrast the one with the other. The Lollards were Reformers as much as those who began to be so called in 1527, and they sought essentially the same reforms. For a series of years, too, those called Reformers from the date mentioned were under Lollard influence, as well as under the influence of the Protestant Reformation on the Continent. It is, we presume, for these

and such reasons that the period of Lollardism in England is extended by writers on the subject to 1546, when real Protestantism was established in England, on the death of Henry VIII. and the accession of Edward VI. to the throne ; and if we are not approved, we trust that we may at least be excused, for consulting our convenience in extending the period to the corresponding event in Scotland, the establishment of the Protestant Reformation in 1560.

The history of the period is still mainly a martyrology, and the first who suffered was Patrick Hamilton. He was nobly and even royally connected ; his father, Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil, being the son of the Lord Hamilton who married a sister of James III., and his mother being a daughter of John Alexander, Duke of Albany, the second son of James II.,—a connection to which he owed the abbacy of Ferne, to which he was appointed in his childhood. He was educated at St. Andrews ; and there, when he was about twenty years of age, some rays of gospel light began to irradiate his mind. These, there seems every reason to believe, reached him through a Lollard medium, John Andrew Duncan, a son of the laird of Airdrie, in Fife. Mr. Duncan, in sojourning in Beverley, learned Lollardism, and became a most zealous advocate of it. On his return

home, he and Hamilton got on terms of great intimacy; and the effect of their intercourse was, that Hamilton was strongly prepossessed in favour of the new doctrines. This led him to visit the Continent, in quest of further illumination. After spending some time with Luther, Melancthon, and other Reformers at Wirtemberg, he was recommended by them to the College of Marburg, then presided over by Francis Lambert; and there he drank in the knowledge of the Scriptures with the utmost avidity, and was fully instructed in the principles and grounds of the reformed faith.

Panting to show unto his countrymen the way of salvation, as he himself had now learned it, he returned to Scotland, and began to preach the truth, in opposition to all the Popish errors by which it had been corrupted. His talents, his learning, his rank, his character, his youthful and graceful appearance, all contributed to his popularity, and deepened the impression produced by the simple and pure gospel, which he preached with intense earnestness; and which he embodied in the small Latin treatise, commonly called 'Patrick's Places,'—a wonderful book for its day, and which Foxe has translated and incorporated in his *Martyrology*. The clergy got frightened, and on pretence of wishing a free and friendly conference with him on his opinions, they decoyed him to St.

Andrews. Archbishop Beaton employed Archibald Campbell, an able and crafty friar, Prior of the Dominicans, to worm himself into Hamilton's confidence, and ascertain his sentiments. Campbell did so; and having learned his views, with which he affected sympathy, he reported them to Beaton. Beaton apprehended his unsuspecting victim, imprisoned him in the Castle, and convened a court to try him for heresy. Friar Campbell was his accuser. The articles against him were fourteen in number; and, according to the most material of these, he held and taught that the corruption of sin remains in children after baptism; that we are justified by faith and not by works; that penance does not purchase remission; that auricular confession is not necessary to salvation; that there is no purgatory; and that the Pope is Antichrist.

Hamilton defended himself very ably, by pleading the truth of these tenets, and denying others of which he was falsely accused; and concluded his testimony by solemnly declaring that neither mass, matins, nor dirges — that nothing but the blood of Christ can save the soul of man. 'What need we any further witness?' said his judges; 'we ourselves have heard from his own mouth. He denies the institution of the Holy Kirk, and the authority of the holy father the

Pope.' Sentence of condemnation was pronounced upon him; and that very day, the 29th February 1528, was Patrick Hamilton led to the stake, aged twenty-eight says Tytler, and twenty-four says M'Crie. The place of execution was the area in front of St. Salvator's College, 'where,' in the words of Pitscottie, 'was a great fire, and a stake, and a scaffold made, whereon they put this innocent man in presence of all the people.' When he had come to the scene, he put off his gown, and gave it, with other pieces of his apparel, to his servant, saying, 'This stuff will not help in the fire, yet will do thee some good. I have no more to leave thee but the ensample of my death, which I pray thee keep in mind; for albeit the same be bitter and painful in man's judgment, yet is it the entrance to everlasting life, which none can inherit that denieth Christ before the congregation.' His bodily suffering was protracted and agonizing. The executioner applying fire to the powder that was laid to ignite the wood, his left hand and the left side of his face were scorched, but the pile did not kindle. More powder had to be brought from the Castle, which was at a considerable distance. The martyr endured his lingering torment with dauntless heroism and with imperturbable meekness and calmness. The friars aggravated the pains of his last moments by importuning him to

save his life by recanting. Campbell was peculiarly busy, saying, 'Turn, thou heretic, call upon the Lady,' etc. In vain did Hamilton mildly beseech him to desist; and as he persisted, he at length said, 'Wicked man, thou knowest that I am not a heretic, and that it is the truth of God for which I now suffer; so much thou didst confess unto me in private, and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ.' Powder was now again thrown upon the pile, and kindled; and he died commending his soul to God, and beseeching him to dispel the darkness of Popery from his native land. His last words were: 'How long, O Lord, shall darkness cover this realm? How long wilt Thou suffer this tyranny of man? Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.'

Hamilton's martyrdom had the contrary effect to what his murderers wished and expected. It moved pity, excited inquiry, and impressed many in favour of the truth and excellence of the principles for which he suffered. So much was this the case, that John Lindsay said to the Archbishop: 'My lord, if ye burn any more, except ye follow my counsel ye will utterly destroy yourselves. If ye burn them, let them be burnt in *cellars*, for the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton hath infected as many as it blew upon!' The miserable fate of Friar Campbell tended to produce the same effect

on the public mind. The summons which his dying victim gave him to answer for himself at the judgment-seat of Christ so rang in his ears, and so pierced his heart, that in a short time he died in a state of insanity, produced by horror of conscience and despair.

Mr. Duncan, the young laird of Airdrie, meditated delivering Hamilton from his murderers. With this view he had armed and mounted about a score of his tenants and servants, intending to enter St. Andrews by night, and to rescue him out of their hands; but a troop of horsemen surrounded them, and made Duncan himself their prisoner. We mention the circumstance, because it is fitted to correct some prevalent misconceptions, and to reflect light on the potential influence which Lollardism had on the Scottish Reformation 'We have been accustomed to suppose,' says Dr. M'Crie, 'that Patrick Hamilton was the first who introduced the reformed opinions into Scotland, that he acquired them abroad, and that they were embraced by very few of his countrymen previously to his martyrdom. This opinion requires to be corrected. Before that youthful and zealous Reformer made his appearance, the errors and corruptions of Popery had been detected by others, who were ready to co-operate with him in his measures of reform. The more the subject is

investigated, the more clearly, I am persuaded, it will appear that the opinions of Wycliffe had a powerful and extensive influence upon the Reformation. Even in Scotland they contributed greatly to predispose the minds of men to the Protestant doctrine. We can trace the existence of the Lollards in Ayrshire from the time of Wycliffe to the days of George Wishart; and in Fife they were so numerous, as to have formed the design of rescuing Patrick Hamilton by force on the day of his execution.'

The next who suffered was Henry Forrest, a young Benedictine monk. He had been overheard expressing some admiration of Hamilton. Archbishop Beaton apprehended and imprisoned him; and, to provide evidence which might convict him, he appointed Friar Walter Laing to visit him as a spiritual guide and comforter, and to hear his confession. Not suspecting treachery under the cloak of religion, and trusting in the rules of the Church, which forbade the secrets of the confessional to be revealed, Forrest answered frankly the insidious questions put to him, saying that he thought Master Patrick a good man, wrongfully put to death, and that his articles were true, and not heretical. He was forthwith put on his trial, his confession being used against him, and was condemned as a heretic equal in iniquity to

Hamilton himself. There was a distinct and conclusive proof of this in the circumstance of an English New Testament being found in his possession, in all probability Wycliffe's; a deadly crime this, taken by itself, in the view of his persecutors.

On the day of his death the clergy assembled to degrade him; and when he saw their faces, he cried out, 'Fie on falsehood! Fie on false friars, revealers of confession! After this day, let no man ever trust any friars, contemners of God's word and deceivers of men!' He was burnt at the north gate of the Abbey Church of St. Andrews; the *north* side being chosen, 'to the intent that all the people of Angus might see the fire, and so might be more feared from falling into the like doctrine.'

On the 27th August 1534, David Straiton and Norman Gourlay, a priest, suffered the same death for the same cause, on the Castlehill of Edinburgh. Straiton was brother to the Baron of Lauriston in Kincardineshire, and a frequent companion of the celebrated Erskine of Dun, by whom he was brought to the knowledge and faith of the new doctrines. It is recorded of him, that one day, while yet a young man, reading these words, 'Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will

I also deny before my Father which is in heaven,' he was deeply moved, and, falling on his knees, implored God that, though he had been a great sinner, he might never be permitted, from fear of any bodily torments, to deny Him or His truth. His prayer was signally answered in the hour of greatest need. Besieged and importuned to purchase his life by recanting, he sternly and stedfastly refused, and encouraged his fellow-sufferer in the same noble resolution.

On the Castlehill of Edinburgh, in February 1539, Cardinal David Beaton made one grand holocaust of eight or nine like heresiarchs: Dean Thomas Forrest, Vicar of Dollar; Keillor and Beveridge, two black friars; Duncan Simpson, a priest of Stirling; Robert Forrester, a notary of Stirling; and three or four others of the same town.

Forrest was a native of Fife, and of a house of some consideration there. His father was master of the royal stables in the days of James IV., and the kindness of a noble lady enabled him to complete his education at Cologne. On coming home, he was admitted a canon regular in the monastery of St. Colm's Inch; and there he met with a volume of Augustine, of which he used to say, 'Oh, happy and blessed was that book to me, by which I came to the knowledge of the truth!' The earnest study of the Scriptures followed; the doctrines of the

Reformers were embraced; and it was forthwith his anxious endeavour to commend them to his brother monks. The abbot warned him of his danger, and advised him to say as others said, and to keep his views to himself. His answer was: 'I thank you, my lord; you are a friend of my body, but not of my soul. Before I deny a word that I have spoken, you shall see this body of mine consumed to ashes, and blown away with the wind.'

Appointed to the charge of Dollar, he was indefatigable in his pastoral labours, and abounded in deeds of piety and charity. When the Pope's agents came into his bounds selling their indulgences, he said, 'Parishioners, I am bound to speak the truth to you; this is but to deceive you. There is no pardon for our sins that can come to us either from Pope or any other, but solely by the blood of Christ.'

The friars having complained of Dean Forrest to his bishop, Crichton of Dunkeld, because he preached to his parishioners every Sabbath upon the gospel and the epistle of the day, and because he did not take from them certain clerical dues, the Bishop called him before him, and the following most instructive and ever-memorable colloquy took place between them :—

Bishop—My joy, Dean Thomas; I love you, and would give you good advice.

Dean—I thank your lordship heartily.

Bishop—My joy, Dean Thomas, I am informed that you preach the epistle or gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cow nor the cloth from them, which thing is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and therefore, my joy, Dean Thomas, I would you take your cow and your upmost cloth, as other churchmen do [the best cow and the upper garment of a deceased person were held to be the vicar's due], or else it is too much to preach every Sunday, for in so doing you make the people think that we should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or any good gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the Holy Church, to preach that, and let the rest be.

Dean—My lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain that I take not the cow nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have, and I will give and communicate with them anything that I have; and so, my lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us. And whereas your lordship saith it is too much to preach every Sunday, indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your lordship did the like.

Bishop—Nay, nay, Dean Thomas, let that be, for we are not ordained to preach.

Dean—When your lordship biddeth me preach when I find any good epistle or a good gospel, truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and gospels, and among them all I could never find any evil epistle or any evil gospel; but if your lordship will show me the good epistle and the good gospel, and the evil epistle and the evil gospel, then I shall preach the good and omit the evil.

Bishop—I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was [hence the proverb in Scotland, 'Ye are like the Bishop of Dunkeld, who knew neither new nor old law']; therefore, Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my mass-book and my pontifical. Go your way, and leave off all these fantasies; for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, you will repent it when you may not mend it.

Dean—I trust my cause is just in the presence of God, and therefore I care not much what follows.

At his trial the following encounter took place between him and his accuser, who was 'a venomous priest,' by name John Lauder:—

Lauder—False heretic! thou sayest it is not lawful to kirkmen to take their teinds and offerings and corpse-presents, though we have been in use of them constitute by the Kirk and King; and also

our holy father, the Pope, hath confirmed to us the same?

Dean—Brother, I said not so, but I said it was not lawful to kirkmen to spend the patrimony of the Kirk as they do, as on riotous feasting and on fair women, and at playing at cards and dice; and neither the Kirk well maintained, nor the people instructed in God's word, nor the sacraments duly administered to them, as Christ commanded.

Lauder—Dare thou deny that which is openly known in the country?—that thou gave again to the parishioners the cow and the upmost cloths, saying that you had no right to them?

Dean—I gave them again to those that had more mister [need] than I.

Lauder—Thou false heretic! Thou learned all thy parishioners to say the Paternoster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English, which is contrary to our acts, that they should know what they say.

Dean—Brother, my people are so rude and ignorant, they understand no Latin, so that my conscience moved me to pity their ignorance, which provoked me to learn them the words of their salvation in English, and the Ten Commandments, which are the law of God, whereby they might observe the same. I teached the Belief, whereby they might

know their faith in God, and Jesus Christ His Son, and of His death and resurrection. Moreover, I teached them and learned them the Lord's own Prayer in the mother tongue, to the effect that they should know to whom they should pray, and in whose name they should pray, and what they should ask and desire in prayer, which I believe to be the pattern of all prayer.

Lauder—Why did you that? By our acts and ordinances of our holy father the Pope?

Dean—I follow the acts of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Apostle Paul, who saith in his doctrine to the Corinthians, that he had rather speak five words to the understanding and edifying of the people, than ten thousand words in a strange tongue, which they understand not.

Lauder—Where finds thou that?

Dean—In my book here in my sleeve.

Upon this Lauder, starting with a bound to the vicar, pulled the book out of his hand, and holding it up to the people, said with a loud voice, 'Behold, sirs, he has the book of heresy in his sleeve that makes all the din and play in our Kirk.'

Dean—Brother, God forgive you; you could say better, if ye pleased, nor to call the book of the Evangel of Jesus Christ the book of heresy! I assure you, dear brother, that there is nothing in this book but the life, the latter will and testament

of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, penned by the four Evangelists for our wholesome instruction and comfort.

Lauder (*interrupting*)—Know thou not, heretic, that it is contrary to our acts and express commands to have a New Testament in English, which is enough to burn thee for?

At the stake, Friar Hardbuckle most persistently but vainly assailed his constancy, and urged him to pray to the Virgin Mary. His New Testament was again taken from him, and held up amid shouts of 'Heresy! Heresy! Burn him! Burn him!' which he answered by praying, 'God be merciful to me a sinner! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;' and repeating portions of the Psalms of David as long as he could articulate.

The bishops of the west, determined to show that they were not behind those of the east in *burning* zeal, had two persons, Kennedy and Russell, brought to the stake for heresy in Glasgow in March 1538. Kennedy was a poetic genius, and had perhaps galled them with his irony. When apprehended by his enemies, he was at first timid and faint; but by and by he was so mightily and marvellously strengthened and comforted, that, falling on his knees, he blessed God with a loud voice for pulling him with His own hand from the pit into which he would have cast himself, and en-

abling him to face death at the stake, triumphing over it. His companion spoke to him many good words and comfortable words, as they were on their way to the death-scene; and, having reached it, fixing his eyes on the prelates who presided, he said to them: 'Now is your hour and the power of darkness; ye now sit in judgment, whilst we stand before you, falsely accused and most wrongfully condemned. But the day is coming when we shall have our innocence declared, and ye shall discover your blindness; meanwhile proceed, and fill up the measure of your iniquities.'

At Perth, in 1543, six persons were offered in one great sacrifice to the Moloch of Popish tyranny. They were Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Revelson, James Founleson, and his wife, Helen Stirke. Apprehended for heresy, they were lodged in the Spey Tower of the city, and brought forth next day to judgment.

Robert Lamb was accused of interrupting Friar Spense, when he heard him preaching that prayer to the saints is so necessary that there can be no salvation without it. He was also accused, with William Anderson and James Revelson, of hanging up the image of St. Francis in a cord, nailing rams' horns to his head and a cow's tail to his rump, and of eating a goose on Allhallow-even. James Hunter, a simple and illiterate man, was

accused of keeping company with such heresiarchs; and this, we suppose, must have been the crime of Founleson too—we at least have observed no record of anything more specific laid to his charge. Helen Stirke was accused of not calling, in childbed, upon the name of the Virgin Mary, but only upon God; and of saying that Mary owed the honour of being the mother of Christ not to her own merits, but to God's free mercy. There was a separate count against Revelson, to the effect that, when building a house, he had set upon the top of his fourth storey a three-crowned diadem of Peter, made of wood, which Cardinal Beaton took to be done in mockery of his cardinal's hat.

For these crimes, as also for conferring and reasoning on the Scriptures contrary to the Act of Parliament, they were all hanged, one excepted; why not burned we have not seen explained. 'So, comforting one another, and assuring themselves that they should sup together in the kingdom of heaven that night, they commended themselves to God, and died constantly in the Lord.' The one exception was Helen Stirke. She earnestly desired to die with her husband, but was refused. Following him to the place of execution, she comforted and encouraged him, and parting from him with a kiss, said, 'Husband, rejoice! we have lived together many joyful days, but this day, in which

we are to die, ought to be the most joyful to us both, because we now shall have joy for ever. Therefore I will not bid you good-night, for we shall soon meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven.' Helen was drowned in a pool of the Tay, in the neighbourhood of the scaffold on which her husband hung a corpse. She was taken to the pool with a sucking child at her breast—a sight, surely, enough to move the heart of a stone; and having commended her orphan children to the neighbours, and given the suckling at her breast to a nurse provided for it, with unflinching firmness and unruffled calmness she resigned herself to death.

George Wishart was another of Cardinal Beaton's victims. He was of the family of Pitarrow, in the Mearns, his father being Justice-Clerk to James v. Brought early to the knowledge of the truth, perhaps by Erskine of Dun, who afterwards patronized him, he devoted himself to the work of an evangelist, and was an admirable preacher of the gospel. His natural talents were good, his scholarship high, his character noble, his eloquence winning and impressive, his appearance in no ordinary degree prepossessing and commanding; and all these combined to give him great power of rousing and swaying his fellow-men. For teaching his scholars at Montrose to read

the New Testament in the original tongue he had to flee Scotland.

During his exile we trace him first to Bristol, where he publicly preached the gospel, and denounced the abounding Mariolatry. But he had not yet the faith and the fortitude necessary to the martyr; for, being proceeded against by the authorities, and found a heretic, he escaped by burning his fagot in the Church of St. Nicholas. We trace him next to Germany and Switzerland; and after that to Cambridge, where he became a member of Corpus Christi College, pursued his studies with great ardour, did the work of a tutor to others, and earned the highest reputation as a gentleman, a scholar, and a Christian.

On returning to Scotland in 1543, and beginning his public labours in Dundee, crowds of all ranks attended on them; and many were brought to abjure the errors and corruptions of Popery, and to know and profess the true doctrine of Christ. The clergy took the alarm, and so opposed and threatened him that Wishart transferred his services to the west country, where they met with much acceptance. The outbreak of the plague in Dundee brought him back to it; and the God-like work which he did during that dire visitation, while it raised his reputation and influence among the people, proportionally increased the dread

and hatred with which the zealots of Popery regarded him. Quitting Dundee, he betook himself to the Lothians, and resided in turns with the Lairds of Brunstone, Longniddry, and Ormiston—'every Sabbath teaching openly in some church or other with good success, until he was apprehended.'

His apprehension took place in the end of January, at Ormiston, whither he had gone accompanied by some friends. John Knox wished to go with them, but Wishart dissuaded him, saying, 'One is enough for a sacrifice at this time.' 'After supper he held comfortable discourse with God's chosen children' present, and sang and prayed with them, and then passed to his bed-chamber. About midnight, the Earl of Bothwell surrounded the house, Cardinal Beaton being within a mile's distance, with a body of 500 men. Wishart surrendered to Bothwell, on a solemn assurance that his life would be spared; but his captor perfidiously delivered him to the Cardinal, who was thirsting for his blood, and who, taking him first to Edinburgh and then to St. Andrews, cast him into the dungeon of his castle, where he lay in irons till his execution.

The Governor Arran having refused to grant a commission to a civil judge to try Wishart, Beaton summoned a council of bishops and

abbots to meet in the Abbey Church, and on his own authority brought Wishart to trial before them. The Council having convened, Winram, the sub-Prior of St. Andrews, preached, and the 'venomous' Lauder accused the prisoner. The grand charge against him was heresy; which was divided, however, into no fewer than eighteen articles, comprising the then usual counts against the Reformers, and plenteously garnished with such names as 'runnagate,' 'heretic,' 'traitor,' 'thief,' 'deceiver of the people,' hurled at the head of the panel. His bold and noble defence was as unavailing as his Master's before the Sanhedrim. He was found guilty, and condemned to the stake. Before sentence was pronounced, he poured out his soul in a most pathetic prayer, pleading with God on His permitting His servants to suffer the cruelty and fury of the ungodly, and importuning grace for them, that, while such times of trial lasted, they might be faithful unto death.

Sentence having been pronounced on him, Wishart was conducted back to the Castle, to spend there his last night on earth. Next day two executioners arrayed him in a black linen coat, fastened some bags of powder to his body, tied a rope about his neck and a chain about his waist, and led him to the stake, which was erected in

front of the Castle, with the great guns in position opposite to it, in case of any attempt being made to rescue the victim. The front tower of the Castle was hung with tapestry, and luxuriously fitted with cushions, that the Cardinal and friends with him might loll on them, and feast their eyes on the spectacle below.

The blessed martyr having mounted the pile, declared to the people the joy he felt in offering up his life for the name of Christ, and exhorted them not to be offended with the good word of God because of the torments which they saw prepared for him. Having thus spoken, he kneeled down, and prayed for a little with great fervour. Then, being raised up and bound to the stake, he cried with a loud voice, 'O Saviour of the world, have mercy on me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into Thine hands!' The executioner then kindled the fire, and the powder that was fastened to his body exploded. The captain of the Castle, perceiving him to be still alive, bade him be of good courage; on which the martyr said: 'This flame hath scorched my body, yet hath it not daunted my spirit. But he, who from yonder high place beholdeth us with such pride, shall within a few days lie in the same as ignominiously as now he is seen proudly to rest himself.' As he was uttering

these words, the executioner drew the cord that was about his neck so tight, that he spoke no more, and the fire soon consumed him to ashes. 'And thus,' as Stevenson says, 'like another Elijah, he took his flight to heaven from a fiery chariot.'

It was on the 1st of March 1546 that Wishart uttered the above words concerning Cardinal Beaton. On the 29th of the following May, out of the same window from which he had looked down on the dying martyr, the Cardinal's body was hung in a bloody sheet, to satisfy the Provost and the clamorous citizens that he was really dead. He was succeeded in the Primacy by John Hamilton, bastard son of the first Earl of Arran, and so half-brother of the second Earl, the Governor of Scotland. Hamilton pursued the same policy of clearing the land of the pestilent Reformers by burning them. His first burnt-offering was Adam Wallace, described by Knox as 'a sempill man, without great learnyng, but ane that was zelous in godlynes, and of ane uprycht lyeff.' Though not very learned, Wallace was an educated man, and was tutor to the children of Lady Ormiston. Apprehended and carried to Edinburgh, he was tried in the church of the Blackfriars, before Governor Arran, the Earl of Argyll, great Justiciar of the kingdom, the Earls

of Angus, Huntly, and Glencairn, and, as Knox phrases it, 'diverse otheris besydes the bischoppes and thare rable.'

Wallace's accuser was the 'venomous priest' Lauder; and the articles against him were—that he had usurped the office of a preacher; that he had baptized one of his own children; that he had denied the existence of purgatory; that he had held prayers to the saints and for the dead to be altogether superstitious; that he had called the service of the mass idolatry; and that he had affirmed that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar were, after consecration, bread and wine still. He defended himself with much propriety and acuteness, despite of the scandalous brow-beating and insult which he had to bear from Huntly, bringing the differences between him and his prosecutors to the test of the Scriptures, a copy of which in French, Dutch, and English he had fastened to his belt. He was found guilty, and adjudged to the flames; the Earl of Glencairn, however, dissenting, and protesting that he did not consent to his death. After his condemnation the most strenuous efforts were made in vain to persuade him to recant. He was burned next day on the Castlehill, many in the crowd of spectators feeling profound sympathy with him, and giving articulate expression

to it; but the Provost of the city, who superintended the execution, would not allow him to address them.

The last martyr during the reign of Popish tyranny in Scotland suffered in 1558. He was Walter Mill, parish priest of Lunan, in Forfarshire. Having embraced the Reformed doctrines, he, as far back as the days of Cardinal Beaton, left off saying mass, for which he had to abandon his cure. He added another deadly offence—he married a wife, and judged it prudent to go into concealment. Marked out for the Church's vengeance, two creatures of Archbishop Hamilton at length apprehended him in Dysart, and carried him to St. Andrews, where he was imprisoned in the Castle. Tested by both promises and threats, his constancy proved immoveable. He was brought to trial in the metropolitan church, before a conclave of bishops, abbots, doctors, and friars. He was so feeble from age, being a decrepid old man of eighty-two, and from the treatment to which he had been subjected, that he had to be assisted in climbing up to the pulpit, which was his 'dock,' and it was feared that he would not be able to make his voice heard. 'But,' says Foxe, 'when he began to speake, he made the church to ryng and sounde agayne, with so great courage and stoutness, that the Christians which were present

were no lesse rejoyced than the adversaries were confounded and ashamed.'

Examined in the usual way on the topics disputed between the Papists and the Reformers, Mill answered with wonderful promptness, clearness, and point. When asked, 'Wilt thou not recant thyne erroneous opinions?' he replied, 'I am assured of my lyfe: I know I must dye once, and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, *Quod facis, fac cito* (What thou doest, do quickly). Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corne, I am no chaffe; I will not be blowen away with the wind, nor burst with the flaile, but I will abide both.'

His sentence, which was that he should be delivered to the temporal judge, and punished as a heretic, revolted public feeling. Provost Learmonth refused to be his temporal judge. Not a merchant would sell, not a citizen would give, as much cord as would tie him to the stake, or a tar barrel to burn him, or a pound of powder to kindle the fire. One of the Archbishop's own domestics, a man of dissolute habits, was made judge for the occasion, and the rope for binding the victim was cut from his Grace's pavilion. His murderers would fain have prevented him from speaking at the stake, but 'some of the young men committed both the burners and the byshops their maisters

to the devill, saying that they believed that they should lament that day, and desyred the sayd Walter to speake what he pleased.' 'Standing upon the coals,' he protested that he suffered for no crime, but for the faith of Jesus Christ as set forth in the Scriptures, for which he most willingly laid down his life. He exhorted the people, if they would escape eternal death, to be no more seduced by the lies of Antichrist and his brood, but to rest their entire dependence on Christ, the only and all-sufficient sacrifice. He expressed his trust in God that he was the last who should suffer death in Scotland for this cause. His last words, as the flames were enveloping him, were: 'Lord, have mercy on me. Pray, people, while there is time!'

The place where he suffered was in front of the main gate of the priory, or what now goes by the name of the Pends. In testimony of their respect for his memory and their detestation of his murder, the people of St. Andrews raised a cairn on the spot. The Archbishop and his satellites removed the cairn, but as often as they did so it was restored next morning, in spite of the anathemas which they denounced against the restorers; and this ominous battle between the priests and the people was at length ended only by surrounding the spot with a guard.

Mill's dying hope, that he was the last whom Popery should in that age martyr in the land, was fulfilled. Two years after his martyrdom, the friends of the cause for which he suffered became ascendant, and the Protestant Reformation was established.

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